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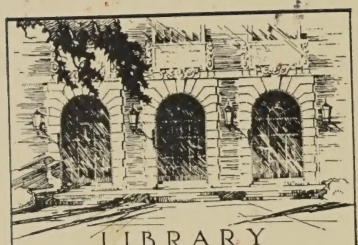

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THE EARLY ENTREMÉS IN SPAIN: THE RISE OF A DRAMATIC FORM

A THESIS

IN ROMANIC LANGUAGES

PRESENTED TO THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

WILLIAM SHAFFER JACK

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To
My Mother
Who Made It Possible
This
Little Work Is
Affectionately Dedicated

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FOREWORD

Considering the importance of the place that the *entremés* holds in the history of the Spanish theatre, but little attention has been given it by way of critical studies either of its origin or its development. The most extensive hitherto is that of Sr. Cotarelo y Mori which serves as one chapter of the introduction to his *Colección de entremeses . . .* in volume seventeen of the *Nueva Biblioteca de autores españoles*. There are, besides, short articles by Rouanet (Intro. to *Intermèdes espagnols*), Mantuano (Intro. to *Entremeses del siglo XVII atribuídos al maestro Tirso de Molina*), and Northup (Intro. to *Ten Spanish Farces*); and Professor J. P. Wickersham Crawford, Bonilla y San Martín, and others have devoted some space to the *entremés* in works on the sixteenth century Spanish theatre.

There still remain, however, many problems unsolved, both as to the origins and the growth of the *entremés*. The aim of the present work has been to trace a history of both word and form from their earliest known appearances in Spain, and, if it may be, to solve some of the problems related thereto. That there must still remain many points unsettled, is undoubted. This little study cannot seek to be in any wise definitive. The author will be more than satisfied if he shall have succeeded in tracing a clearer outline than has hitherto been available of the growth of the *entremés*, and in adding somewhat to the knowledge of what actually took place before it became a definite and established literary form in Spain.

The writer's heartiest thanks are due the eminent Hispanist, Professor Hugo A. Rennert, both for his counsel in the preparation of this little book, and for having put at the author's disposal his magnificent library of Hispanic works. The author owes an acknowledgment of no slight debt to Professor J. P. Wickersham Crawford for the unfailing interest he has manifested throughout the progress of this study, and for his assistance and counsel in its preparation. Thanks are likewise due to Mr. J. A. Meredith for suggestions on a number of points important to a study of the *entremés*, and for having kindly consented to read the proofs.

W. S. J.

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I

The Word Entremés Before Fifteen Hundred

The use of the word *entremés* antedates, according to existing documentary evidence, by nearly two centuries, the creation of the *genre* known to literature by that name. During that period, the word was employed sporadically in a number of meanings more or less closely related, and an exact definition is rendered still more difficult by the frequent use of other terms such as *roca*, and *carro*, which were often synonymous with *entremés*. The aim, therefore, of the first part of the present chapter must be to trace, so far as the scanty and often inconclusive documents of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in Spain will permit, the source and history of the term *entremés* before it was used as the name of a new literary form.

While references to similar festivities occur in Spanish documents as early as 1373,[1] as far as is known, the first occurrence of the term *entremés* on Spanish soil is found in the description of the festivities that attended the coronation of Doña Sibila at Barcelona in the year 1381.[2] The passage reads as follows: "Item fou aportat a la derraria del menyar un bell entremes, so es un bell pago[3] qui feya la roda y estave en un bell bestimen en torn del cual havia molta bolateria cuyta cuberta de panys dor e dargent e aquest pago fou servit fort altament e presentat a la taula[4] de la dita senyora ab mols esturments axi de corda com d'altres, e venien apart devan lo mayordom e cavallers

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[1] Mérimée, *L'Art dramatique à Valencia*, Toulouse, 1913, pp. 11–12.

[2] The word farce, applied to dramatic performances, is less ancient than *entremés*. In France, it can be traced back only to 1398. *Cf.* Beneke, *Das Repertoire und die Quellen der französischen Farce*, p. 8.

[3] "Les deux mots *entremés* et *sainète* ont l'un et l'autre, on le voit, une origine gastronomique," Rouanet, *Intermèdes espagnols*, p. 39, n. 2.

[4] There is a record in Germany as early as Jan. 24, 1417–18 of a play given between courses: "In dem mahl, zvisschen dem Essen, so machten sie solch bild und geberd, als unser Frau ihr Kind unsern Herrn und auch Gott gebahr, mit fast köstlichen Tüchern und Gevvand. . . ." Chambers, *Mediaeval Stage*, II, 101, n. 2. He thinks it was probably a dumb-show.

e donsells, e lo dit entremes portave en sos pits una cobla escrita qui deya axi.[5] . . ."

The word, as used here, has a certain literary significance, as the *copla* shows, and has to do with a show-piece. Were it not for the concluding words where it is said that the *entremés* "bore on its breast a *copla*," which can refer only to the peacock, there might be some reason to believe that by *entremés* the writer had in mind not only the dish but the presentation and the music as well. But while the word itself seems here to apply to the dish alone, the text of the passage shows clearly that there was an entertainment very much like *entremets* of a somewhat later date in France where, however, extant records seem to show that they were much more elaborate than the one in question here.[6]

The term *entremés*, therefore, from its very inception, belongs to the east of Spain, to Valencia and Catalonia, and not to Castilian territory, and it was in that region that it was first to extend its meaning and develop. Mérimée thinks that the matter of geographic locality is of little importance in a consideration of the development of the theatre.[7] Be that as it may, geography cannot be left unconsidered in a search for the source of the word. Baist, while uncertain, inclines to think that it comes from Italy.[8] There, however, the word *intermezzo* seems to be no older than the earliest acclimatization in Spain of the form *entremés*, although it is distinguished as a literary form at least as early as 1497, and probably much earlier.[9] Moreover, while there was from an early date contact with Italy, it was not with her that Spain, especially Catalonian territory, maintained its closest relations until the middle of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth cen-

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[5] *Cit.* Milá y Fontanals, *Obras completas*, VI, 235. For a discussion of the *pauon* at banquets. see Enrique de Villena, *Arte cisoria*, ed. Felipe-Benicio Navarro, cap. 7, p. 47, and the note, pp. 190–196. D'Ancona, *Origini* . . . II, p. 68, mentions "gentileze de cervi . . . pavoni," etc., at a feast given for the French ambassadors in July of the year 1473. The English *soteltie* was likewise an elaborate dish. Chambers, *Mediaeval Stage*, I, 223, and II, 397.

[6] Prunières, *Le Ballet de cour en France*, Chap. I, esp. pp. 6–12.

[7] Mérimée, *Spectacles et comédiens à Valencia*, p. 187.

[8] Gröber's *Grundriss*, Vol. 2, pt. 2, p. 463.

[9] Croce, *I teatri di Napoli* in *Scritti di storia lett. e pol.*, Vol. 7, pp. 12–13.

turies. Catalonia's closest bonds, prior to the coming of Italian influence at about the date mentioned, had long been with Provence. As Menéndez y Pelayo says, "Cataluña y Provenza estaban por sus orígenes íntimamente enlazadas. Juntas formaron parte del primitivo reino visigodo. Juntas entraron en la unidad del imperio franco. Juntas lograron, bajo los débiles sucesores de Carlo Magno, independencia de hecho y positiva autonomía. La corrupción de la lengua latina se verificó en ambas cumpliendo las mismas leyes."[10] It might be reasonable, therefore, to look to Provence as the most natural place from which the word *entremés* might come. And precisely, it was current in Provence. It was used there for a dish,[11] and for a "Zwischenspiel bei festlichen Mahlzeiten zwischen die einzelnen Gänge eingeschobene Lustbarkeit."[12] The passage cited by Levy from a fifteenth century chronicle is interesting for its similarity to Catalonian texts: "Lo ters servici (foc) de grans plats de raoust. . . . Apres on portec un *entremieys;* so era un gran castel assietat sus un roc bel et fort. En lo dit castel avia quatre grandas tors . . . et en cascuna tor las banieras deu rey de Ongria. . . . En las quatre tors avia quatre enfans petits, que cantavan devan la seignoria. . . . Lo quart servici foc de ausels. . . . Lo segon *entremeys* foc una gran bestia qu'es appelada tigre; avia dins lo cos un home que li fasia getar lo foc per la gorja. . . . Lo ters *entremeys* foc una gran montanha que portavan vingt et quatre homes, y avia en la dita montanha doas fontanas."[13]

In the north, the word can be traced back at least as far as the poems of Marie de France, ca. 1175, where it is found in the *Lanval:*[14]

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[10] Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antología de poetas líricos castellanos*, Tomo I, prólogo, pág. LXXIX. See also for the time of the breaking down of these bonds, Schack, tr. de Mier, *Hist. de la literatura y arte dram. en España*, II, 167. And for a still further extension to Castile, Wolf, *Studien zur Geschichte der span. und port. National literatur*, p. 582.

[11] Levy, *Provenzalisches Supplement-Wörterbuch*, III, 84.

[12] Levy, *op. cit.*

[13] *Chroniques romanes des comtes de Foix* composées au XVe siècle par Armand Esquerrier et Miégeville et p. p. Félix Pasquier et Henri Courteaulx, Foix, Paris, 1895. Levy, *Provenzalisches Supplement-Wörterbuch*, II, p. III, and *Idem*, III, p. 85 for the text cited. See also Jeanroy, *Histoire sommaire de la littérature méridionale*, pp. 230–31.

[14] The lines cited are 180–188, p. 93, ed. Karl Warnke.

puis li aportent a mangier.
Od s'amie prist le souper;
ne feiseit mie a refuser.
Mult fu serviz curteisement,
e il a grant joie le prent.
Un entremés i ot plenier,
qui mult plaiseit al chevalier:
kar s'amie baisout sovent
e acolot estreitement.

The editor[15] gives as a translation for the word *entremés* in this citation the German *Zwischenspeise*. Since the last two lines, introduced by *kar*, give the justification of the assertion that the *entremés pleniers* pleased the knight, it is difficult to admit that the excellence of the meal and its pleasure should have caused the knight to make love to his sweetheart. It seems much more reasonable to interpret the word *entremés* as *entertainment*.

The term is also found in the sense of altercation or quarrel in the *Roman de Renard;*[16] in the *Roman de la Rose*, it is used apparently to designate fine or delicate dishes at a meal, "de tables pleines d'entremez";[17] in the *Roman de la Violette*, it seems to be applied to some sort of dramatic presentation of the deeds of Gerars li biaus; and in the plays of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries it seems to have meanings similar to those which it assumed in the early Spanish plays of the sixteenth century before the rise of the form of that name.

Because, therefore, the bonds between Provence and Catalonia were so close, and inasmuch as the word *entremés* follows in the latter, from the very beginning of its use, the same lines of meaning to which it had been accustomed in Provence, it seems certain that the last-named region, and in a larger sense France, may be considered the home from which it passed into Spain through the intermediary stage of Catalan.[18]

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[15] Warnke.

[16] *Cit.* Godefroy, *Dictionnaire de l'ancienne langue française*, Vols. III and IX. The *Renard* is ca. 1200.

[17] *Cit.* Godefroy. He gives as an explanation "ce qui se sert dans un repas entre deux services." The context, however, seems hardly to warrant the inclusion of "entre deux services." Godefroy appears to have been influenced by the modern acceptation.

[18] *Cf.* Cotarelo, *Colección de entremeses . . .* intro. on the *entremés;* and El Bachiller Mantuano, *Entremeses del siglo XVII atribuídos al maestro Tirso de Molina*, pp. 9–10.

Although a well-known writer and critic in a recent introduction derives the word from *inter* and *medium*,[19] it has been generally accepted that *entremés* comes from the compound *inter* and *missum*,[20] and this agrees with the early meanings, for the Provencal and Catalan word, and its French cognate *entremets*, signify first of all a dish, a between-course as has already been shown in the documents cited. It is true that one of the Provencal texts mentioned contains the variant *entremieys*,[21] which through association of ideas may represent confusion with *mieg* from *medium*.

The word *entremés*, after its earliest occurrence in a document of 1381, is found in Valencian documents for the years 1399, 1402, 1412, 1413, 1414, 1415, 1432, 1435, 1437, 1446, 1453. In Barcelona, it appears for the years 1423 or 1424, 1437, 1440, ca. 1446, 1453, 1458, 1461, 1462, 1467, 1477, 1481, and at Saragossa in documents for 1414 and 1487, as well as elsewhere at various dates throughout the century.[22]

From designating a course or a special dish at a banquet, *entremés* assumes a more or less dramatic significance first in Saragossa as early as 1399, and in Barcelona in 1424.[23] In the early years of the fifteenth century, *entremés* as a dramatic term was applied to two kinds of representation: the platform on which was arranged a group of set-figures or statues forming an allegorical scene; and in the second place the so-called *carros* or *rocas*, pageants which bore the allegorical figures about the city in procession during the solemnities were likewise called *entremeses*. The spectacles fell only upon days of public rejoicing or thanksgiving: festivals having either a political or a religious significance. Whether the immovable representation, that is, the platform, already mentioned, preceded chronologically the *carros*, it is not possible to say with certainty.

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[19] *Entremeses de Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra*, ed. Bonilla y San Martín, intro., p. X.

[20] Meyer-Lübke, *Romanisches-etymologisches Wörterbuch*, article 5612.

[21] See page 11.

[22] For these data, *cf.* Milá y Fontanals, *Obras completas*, Vol. VI; Mérimée, *L'Art dramatique à Valencia;* Cotarelo, *Colección de entremeses . . .* (*Nueva B. de A. E.*, Vol. XVII); Moratín, *Orígenes . . .* (*B. de A. E.*, Vol. 2, pp. 152–53, note of D. José Sol y Padris).

[23] Milá y Fontanals, *Obras completas*, Vol. VI, 236 and 256. *Cit.* also Mérimée, *L'Art dramatique à Valencia*, p. 12, n. 1.

These platforms were set up within the churches, and it seems likely that they may have appeared there first, and later taken on the ambulant characteristics that make them familiar on the *carro*. These spectacles were an imitation or reflection of the church ceremonial from which they took at least their inspiration. Like the relics, they were presented in the church;[24] like the relics, they were borne about the city in procession, and when that procession was to celebrate a religious festival, in the same cortege with them.

These shows were, as has been said, usually religious in character. There may be cited, for example, "el *entremés* de Belen con los reyes magos a caballo; el *entremés* de Santa Eulalia con sus compañeras; el *entremés* de la misma santa con Daciano y doctores."[25] In the year 1424, or the latter part of 1423, there is record of a festival for Don Alfonso V on his return from Naples, and the document reads in part, "Item foren aportat los entremeses de la dita ciutat representans paradis e infern ab la batalla de Sant Miquel e dels angels e de Llucifer e de sos sequaces e lo vibre e lo fenix e la aguila"; and for 1461 and 1467 there are further mentions of the same, or very similar *entremeses*.[26] The *castel* likewise, probably always provided with allegorical figures, played a considerable part in these shows.[27] In Valencia, for the year 1435 there is a note referring to the construction and tearing down of "l'entremés del Paradis terrenal." Exactly the same construction is mentioned in 1417 as a *roca*. It is evident that the two words were used synonymously.[28]

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[24] Mérimée, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

[25] Moratín, *Orígenes* (*B. de A. E.*, II), p. 152; note by D. José Sol y Padris. The book of records of Barcelona from which this citation is taken covers the fifteenth century to the year 1462. The shows in question were, therefore, prior to that date.

[26] Milá, *op. cit.*, VI, pp. 245–256 *and notes*.

[27] The descriptions of these processions and solemnities recalls strongly English pageantry (see, Withington, *English Pageantry*, and Chambers, *Mediaeval Stage*, both *passim*). There can certainly be no question here of any direct influence; hardly even of the most remote. Such analogues serve to show how closely knit were the popular diversions of all Europe of the time, and not only of those times and countries, but of all times and in all places. Influence is a dangerous thing to argue when it is a question of the popular play-spirit.

[28] Mérimée, *op. cit.*, p. 11, thinks that at first a distinction was made between these terms. "Au début on semble avoir distingué l'*entrames*, qui était la charpente, et la *roca*, qui était la décoration dont l'*entrames* était le support."

The Italian *intermezzi* at least as early as the fifteenth century were likewise allegorical, but usually in a mythological and not a religious way. Italian influence, if it can be noted at all, which is doubtful, is very slight. It may just possibly be present in such an *entremés* as that of the *Pastor*, representing a cardinal, and of the seven liberal arts,[29] which had at least something of an Italian flavor about it, if one may judge from the title which alone has been preserved, but if so, this is an isolated case, and not a rule.

The *entremés* of the church and the *carros* does not serve as a forerunner to the *entremés* of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries except for the fact that it acclimatizes in Spain and makes current the name by which the form was later to be distinguished. In these early *entremeses* is to be seen rather the first faint stirrings of another and quite different *genre*, the religious *auto*, including, of course, the *auto sacramental*. And herein lies a strange thing. The two literary forms that best typify the extremes of the genius, though perhaps not wholly the literary greatness, of the Spanish race as expressed in the theater, have both borne the same name: the latter at its origins before it became a form; the former at a subsequent period by adoption, as the *auto* took on a new appellation and lost the name *entremés*.[30]

The *entremés* as it first appeared as a spectacle was without dramatic significance, but a development soon began to take place. Very early the set figure was replaced by the living actor. This occurred as early as 1407 when Adam and Eve, as Mérimée remarks, were "honest Valencians."[31] This was an immense step toward something dramatic. With human actors came both the need for expression and its possibility. There is a record of singing accompanying *entremeses* in the year 1413,[32]

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[29] Cañete, *Teatro español del siglo XVI*, p. 96, n. 1. For the *Intermedj*, see, among others, Prunières, *Le Ballet de cour en France*, *passim*.

[30] The mere fact that the *carros* are mentioned through the sixteenth century is no proof that the religious *auto*, and the *auto sacramental*, did not develop from them and the representation they carried. In that century, the *auto* itself was represented from the *carros*.

[31] Mérimée, *op. cit.*, pp. 14–15.

[32] The Italian *intermezzi* were also musical. In them lies the source of the melodrama and the *ballet*. The same development, however, does not hold good for Spain in the sixteenth century.

at a celebration in honor of the visit of the king, Don Fernando, to Valencia. The document, dated March 7, 1415, reads: "Mosen Juan Sist, presbitero, per trobar é ordenar les cobles é cantilenes ques cantaren en los entramesos de la festividad de la entrada del Sor Rey, Reyna é Primogenit."[33] The second step toward humanization had thus been taken, and by the sixteenth century, in Mérimée's opinion,[34] the mute *carro* or *entremés* was no longer known. The personages always spoke, or recited, or sang.

All this, of course, is pageantry rather than drama in any literary sense. These pageant-like *entremeses* continued to be called by that name until at least 1501.[35] The *carro*, however, did not cease to exist with the close of the fifteenth century. They are mentioned all through the following. In 1528, there was a *roca* representing the *Sacrificio de Isaac*[36]; and during the latter years of this century the documents are full of references to the *carros*.[37] Many of these, of course, were merely the wagons used for representing the *auto*, and consequently must not be confused with the pageant *carros*, but others belong distinctly to the latter class, as, for example, that mentioned for 1528; or that of 1586, when Ruí López contracts to paint the *carros triunfales*.[38] Again in 1595 there were eight *carros triunfales*, and in the same year Luis Barajona contracted to "hacer una fuente en el carro de Santa Susana."[39]

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[33] Lamarca. *Cit.* Rennert, *Spanish Stage*, intro., pp. XII and XIII; also Milá, *op. cit.*, VI, pp. 245–46. Rennert gives 1412 as the year of the visit, Milá 1413 (*cf. op. cit.*, p. 243); Rennert gives March 7th as the date of the decree; Milá, March 9th. *Cf.* also Cotarelo, *Colección*, . . . Tomo I, p. LV.

[34] Mérimée, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

[35] Mérimée, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

[36] Rouanet, *Colección de autos, etc.*, . . . IV, 136.

[37] Pérez Pastor, *Nuevos Datos, passim;* also same author *Nuevos Datos, 2nd series*, in *Bulletin Hispanique*, Vol. IX. Sánchez-Arjona, *El Teatro en Sevilla.* Díaz de Escovar, *Anales.* The last-named copies assiduously from the others.

[38] The *carro*, like the pageant in England, was often constructed by the corporations of the city, sometimes by religious orders. They were, as Mérimée says, "non des artistes, mais des manoeuvres." For a description of those of the mid-sixteenth century, see Cañete, *Teatro español del siglo XVI*, 325–330.

[39] It would be of interest to compare what is known of these pageants with those of England and of Italy. Withington and Chambers have most of the data for England. For Italy see Giannini, *Origini del dramma musicale*, in *Propugnatore*, XXVI, Pt. I, pp. 209–261; D'Ancona, *Origini, passim;* and Pellizzari, *Portogallo e Italia nel secolo XVI*, pp. 202–203.

The important point in this for a study of the *entremés*, however, lies not in the fact that the *carro* continued to be used as a pageant throughout the sixteenth century, but that after 1501 it is no longer called an *entremés*. The term *carro* or *roca* remains. *Entremés* begins to have a new and very different significance.

The word as used in the fifteenth century was not confined to the *carros*. It was applied also to certain aristocratic diversions which, nevertheless, were in a certain sense "popular," that is to say, more spontaneously in the spirit of play than even the pageants. The chief text that shows this use of the word is the *Doctrinal de Caballeros* of Alfonso de Santa María.[40] "Dos cosas son en que sin actos de guerra al tiempo de hoy los fijos dalgo usan las armas . . . ; la una es en contiendas del reino; la otra es en juegos de armas, asi como los torneos e justas, e estos autos, que agora nuevamente aprendimos, que llaman entremeses."[41] The author speaks of them as *autos*. Were the *Doctrinal* of a little later date, the term might appear to have a real dramatic meaning. As it is, they were in all likelihood more or less impromptu allegorical performances similar, perhaps, to those described in the *Crónica del Condestable de Castilla Lucas de Iranzo* where there is mention of a pantomime and dance taken part in by the gentlemen of the household at the time of his marriage in 1461. These *entremeses* might, says the *Doctrinal*, be played by gentlemen, but the *momos* were considered beneath their dignity. In the same *Crónica del Condestable de Castilla*, for the year 1461 a statement reads: "y por cuanto este día . . . recreció mucha pluvia del cielo, ni se corrieron toros, ni se hicieron otras novedades, salvo el danzar y bailar y cantar en cosante, y otros entremeses a tales fiestas anejos."[42] This statement makes it clear that dancing and singing were called *entremeses*. Such a fact gives the word a very broad field, and from the documents extant, which, however, are so few and inconclusive as not to permit of much

[40] The first edition known is of 1487.
[41] Kohler, *Sieben spanische dram. Eklogen*, p. 106. Milego, *El Teatro en Toledo*, 41–42.
[42] *Cit.* Bonilla edition of Cervantes, *Entremeses*, intro., pp. XI–XII.

generalization, but it is possibly not too much to say that knightly plays and games in general, whether of a social or a dramatic nature, could pass under that name.[43] Yet once again, though using the name, these games were far removed from the literary form. Neither were they anything in themselves that could lead directly to the form as it later developed.[44]

In these knightly games, there seems to have been no comic element. But comedy, which was to be the most important characteristic of the *entremés* in the sixteenth and following centuries, was by no means unknown in connection with the name in the preceding. In the year 1442, a complaint was laid with regard to certain abuses that had crept into the public festivals. A part of the statement is as follows: "Fou proposat per lo discret en Johan Gradoli notari, altre dels honorables concellers. . . . Molt honorables senyors, la saviesa de quascun de vosaltres no creu ignoran com la festivitat de la Caritat es stada principalment ordonada per co que nostre Senyor Deu trameta pluja sobre los blats de la qual lavors comunement per nostres pecats freturan, e que per sa pietat preserve aquells de tempestat, e que conserve sanitat e pau en lo poble, e en qual manera per solemnitat e honorificencia de la dita festa se acostumavan en temps passat fer en semblant dia diverses entremeses e representacions per las parroquias, devotas e honestas e tals que trahien lo poble a devocio; mes empero d'algun temps en sa quasi tots anys se fan per los caritaters de las parroquias, qui los demes son jovens, entremeses de enamoraments, alcavotarias e altres actes desonests e reprobats, majorment en tal dia en lo qual va lo clero ab processons e creu levada portants diversas reliquias de sancts, de que lo poble pren mal exempli e roman scandalitzat."[45]

This statement is noteworthy. It is the first time that anything approaching the comic is mentioned in connection with

[43] There is, for instance, in further support, a statement in the *Crónica de D. Álvaro de Luna* where: "se dice de D. Juan II, que fué muy inventivo, e mucho dado a fallar invenciones e sacar entremeses en fiestas, o en justas, o en guerra, en las cuales invenciones muy agudamente significaba lo que quería." Schack, tr. de Mier, I, 239, n. 2.

[44] It may be noted in passing that in England the so-called *interlude* or *enterlude* has little or nothing in common with the *entremés*. *Cf.* Chambers, *Mediaeval Stage*, Vol. II, *The Interlude*.

[45] Milá y Fontanals, *Obras completas*, VI, 322–323.

the *entremés*. The complainant calls attention to a development that had led to the introduction of humor and even of obscene details. Originally, he says, these shows or ceremonies had been propitiatory. Then they had fallen into the hands of the young and the corruption of the world had entered them. What may have been the character of the folk-*entremeses* the good gentleman denounces so bitterly, it is difficult to say. It is to be noted that while for the most part (*majorment*) these *entremeses* were played on religious holidays, by the implication of the text they were not altogether confined to those seasons of festivity. If such were the case, they must have then become the diversions of the young, and consequently have been entirely foreign to the shows of the *carros*. It would seem likely also that they, like the aristocratic diversions just discussed, were mainly, if not entirely, impromptu. Perhaps they may be looked upon as the rustic counterparts of those games of the rich, also called *entremeses*.

To argue from modern documents between which there is a lapse of more than two centuries is hazardous. In the recreations of the people, however, time plays a far less important part in the matter of changes wrought, than in literature. There is a passage in the *Theatro de los theatros* of Bances Candamo[46] that in its main points follows so closely the Catalan document above cited, and that, if it be permissible to argue across the lapse of time, throws so much light on Spanish popular diversions of the type mentioned, that it seems worth while to cite it in part. ". . . para entretener parte de las noches representan los mozos mas hauiles vnos entremeses en prosa, hauiendolos ellos primero conferido entre si y diciendo lo que ha de hacer a cada vno de ellos aquel que saue el juego . . . yo dire vno que vi en Ossuna con los terminos mas decentes que pueda. . . . Introduciase, pues, en el juego que he dicho vn estudiante que caminaua mui hambriento, y hallando vna vina se entraba en ella alabando el hallarla sola y diciendo muchos elogios de aquel genero de fruta que a un tiempo es alimento y vebida, comia con gran prisa haciendo muchos ansiosos y

[46] Born 1662.

hambrientos visages. A este tiempo salia con vn arcabuz el guarda de la vina muy colerico y queriendole matar; el pobre estudiante se le humillaua con los maiores estremos de cobardia que podia fingir; pero el guarda, inexorable a las exclamaciones, le pedia el dinero de las vbas comidas. Escusabase con su pobreza el estudiante y con serle imposible la satisfaccion, y el otro le decia que ya que no las pagaua no las hauia de lleuar ni aun comidas, y asi que tratase de dejarlas alli arrojandolas por fluxion de vientre, que el con eso cumplia. Tambien se disculpaua el estudiante con no hallarse dispuesto para ello, pero amenazandole con el arcabuz le obligaua a fingir la fea accion de voluer el alimento, prouocando la risa del auditorio con los gestos del temor y de la fuerza . . ."[47] He goes on to cite still another of these popular *entremeses*, this second one erotic in nature.

These games, then, consisted of coarse horse-play, but with a more or less definite situation, and resemble to no small degree the cruder early *entremeses*, or a rough and undeveloped *scenario* of the *commedia dell'arte*. It is quite possible that both forms may have had a certain amount of influence upon these popular diversions by the time of Bances Candamo. The folk is very likely to carry into its own play reminiscences of the things seen in the theater. Nevertheless, allowing for such reminiscences, which doubtless showed in a better developed intrigue, and a greater refinement of form, these games are excellently defined by the terms of the complaint, "entremeses de enamoraments, alcavoterias e altres actes desonests e reprobats," and it is hardly too much to say that in those described by Bances Candamo there is at least in essence a fairly accurate description of what was intended by the old counsellor. And it is to be noted that in both cases the same name applies. Here, then, is a popular, comic diversion, a by-play of some humorous or ludicrous sort, intercalated in the general festivities whether of a religious or a popular holiday, and to which they give the name *entremés*.

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[47] Bances Candamo, *Theatro de los theatros* in *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos*, Vol. VI, Ser. 3, 1902, p. 80.

To recapitulate: *entremés*, losing its meaning as a set-piece at dinner, became the name of the religious play or show-piece of the platform and the *carro;* then, somewhat before the middle of the fifteenth century, it was applied to popular, and a little later aristocratic, diversions of a comic or allegorical nature. It did not, however, as has been said, lose thereby its connection with the religious festivals until the early years of the sixteenth century, when a rapidly growing list of new meanings tore it loose from its old moorings, and brought it over finally to be the almost exclusive property of the theater.

A study of the adoption of the word as the name of a literary form belongs to the next chapter. It was late, however, before that use became exclusive, and during the first half of the sixteenth century, *entremés* was a word applied by the writers of plays in a number of senses wholly unrelated to any concept of a literary *genre*. Torres Naharro uses it in the *Comedia Himenea*:[48]

> Febea, aquesta doncella,
> tiene un hermano marques
> que entendia la conseja,
> el cual procura por ella
> desque sabe el entremes
> que Himeneo la festeja,

where it is used in the sense of trick, with no apparent comic connotation.

In the *Tesorina*[49] of Jayme de Güete:

> Pinedo. Que entremes!
> Este frayre loco es,

where it may be translated "what a joke!"

In the *Vidriana*:[50]

> Cetina. Quando, pues?
> aqueste es otro entremes.
> Modesta. Si me descalço el chapin,
> yo te mostraré lo ques.

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[48] In the *argumento*, *Propaladia*, II, 14.

[49] Comedia *Tesorina*, l. 1820. In Cronan, *Teatro español del siglo XVI*.

[50] Cronan, *op. cit.*, p. 234.

Here it seems to be in the sense of "another matter," or perhaps it may be rendered by "another bit of fooling." This line, "aqueste es otro entremes," is found a second time in the same play, and there also the word has much the same meaning.[51]

The third case in which *entremés* is found in the *Vidriana*[52] shows some variation in sense. It is of a trick that the servants play to frighten the lovers:

Carmento. Dale, pues;
mas si nos sale al rebes,
pardios, yo te enlodaré.
Secreto. Mirad que negro entremes!
Grita tu, como yo haré.

Under very different conditions, the word appears in the speech of Liria in the *Farça a manera de tragedia*:[53]

O que altas alamedas
llenas de auezitas ledas
que cantan sus entremeses.[54]

This might be rendered by the English work *interludes*. The word refers, of course, to the songs of the birds. The interesting thing is that it is found in a musical connection. As has already been seen in the present study, as far back as 1513 *entremeses* of a musical nature are known to have existed.[55] The *intermezzi* were, of course, frequently musical; but music occurs only sporadically in connection with the word in Spain. In the fifteenth century, non-musical, allegorical, occasionally comic, connotations predominate.

In the *Farsa Salamantina*,[56] the word is found three times. The first[57] is in a passage that copies except for a single word

[51] Cronan, *Teatro español del siglo XVI*, p. 213.

[52] Cronan, *op. cit.*, p. 228.

[53] Pub. by Dr. Rennert in *Pub. of Univ. of Penna., Romanic Lang. and Lit., Extra series* No. 3. The word occurs in line 279.

[54] In the Italian plays, instrumental music is sometimes spoken of as a *tramezzo*. For example, in the *Atto della Pinta, ovvero Rappresentazione della creazione del mondo* of the year 1562, it is directed that "caderà la tela et si vederà Iddio con tutti li angioli che con tramezzo di varii strumenti canteranno. . . ." Di Giovanni, *Delle rappresentazioni sacre in Palermo ne' secoli XVII e XVIII* in *Propugnatore*, I, 27. Also *idem*, pp. 30, 31.

[55] Lamarca. See note 33 to the present chapter.

[56] Bartolomé Palau, *Farsa Salamantina*, pub. in *Bulletin Hispanique*, Vol. II, 1906.

[57] Lines 749–750.

the one cited above from the *Tesorina;* in the second, it is used with the meaning "trick": "y hará algun entremes."[58] The last,[59] "que entremes," can also probably be rendered "what a clever trick."

Both Rueda and Timoneda use the word in senses other than its application to the literary form. *Passo* two of the *Turiana* has "escucha aqui qu'entremes," that is to say, with the meaning "nonsense," "foolishness." In the *Armelina*,[60] there is the sentence, "por no pagarme haces agora esos entremeses." It is clear that the sense here is the one already most commonly noted: *anglice*, trick.

In the *Trapaçera*,[61] published by Timoneda:

Alon. Pardiez, que yrá a mi posada
por mas que vos brauees.
Ro. Escucha aqui, qu'entremes!
sus, sali,

that is, "Just hear what a brave threat," or something to that effect.

Again in the *Rosalina*:[62]

Lucas. Mira
qué locura o qué entrames[63]
os tomó de al Portugues
mojalle?

This must mean, "Come, what madness, or caprice, seized you?"

In none of the passages cited has the word *entremés* the slightest literary significance. Yet in them is to be observed a step, already begun in the preceding century, toward a fixation of the general meaning in a sense approximating that in which the word will be applied to the new form. There are, it is true, a

[58] Line 1236.

[59] Line 2282.

[60] Lope de Rueda, *Obras (ed. de la Real Academia Española.)*, I, 112. Unless otherwise noted, references will be to this edition which is the best available of the man who is in many respects the most important figure in the Spanish drama of the sixteenth century before the other greater Lope appears.

[61] Timoneda, *Obras completas (Pub. por la Sociedad de Bibliófilos Valencianos)*, Vol. I, 408.

[62] Timoneda, *op. cit.*, p. 467.

[63] The spelling is exceptional for so late a date. It is the only case of the kind in Timoneda, and recalls the older Catalan and Valencian documents of which some have been cited in the present study. Timoneda was, of course, himself a Valencian book-seller.

number of minor variations, but, if exception of the *Farça a manera de tragedia* is made, the predominating idea in all the others is that of a trick, and in most cases this is taken in the comic sense. This step brings the word very close to the meaning as it was first understood when taken over by the literary form. How close, will be made clear in a study of the earliest *entremeses* in the following chapter.

A strict definition of the literary form called the *entremés* is by no means easy to formulate. The writers of the early seventeenth century are content to speak of them as *comedias antiguas*. Lope de Vega in his *Arte nuevo de hazer comedias*[64] says:

> Acto fueron llamadas, porque imitan
> Las vulgares acciones y negocios.
> Lope de Rueda fué en España exemplo
> Destos preceptos, y oy se veen impressas
> Sus comedias de prosa tan vulgares,
> Que introduze mecanicos oficios
> Y el amor de una hija de un herrero:
> De donde se ha quedado la costumbre
> De llamar entremeses las comedias
> Antiguas, donde está en su fuerza el arte,
> Siendo una accion y entre pleveya gente
> Porque entremes de rey jamas se ha visto.[65]

Lope here refers, of course, to the *Armelina*, a comedy and in nowise an *entremés*, which, however, he says these plays were called, though on what authority he bases his statement he does not say. It must be admitted that the *Arte nuevo* gives every indication of being a made-to-order composition on a subject that the author was at best but poorly fitted to handle. He certainly does not make clear his idea of the *entremés* as a literary

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[64] Pub. in *Bulletin Hispanique*, Vol. III. The citation includes lines 62–73, p. 375.

[65] A passage that has certain similarity to these lines occurs in the *Pasagero* of Cristóbal Suárez de Figueroa, p. 75: "Plauto y Terencio fueran, si vivieran hoy, la burla de los teatros, el escarnio de la plebe, por haber introducido quien presume saber más cierto género de farsa menos culta que gananciosa. . . . *Introducíanse personas ciudadanas, esto es, comunes; no reyes ni príncipes, con quien se evitan las burlas, por el decoro que se les debe.*" The last words carry the explanation that is lacking in the *Arte nuevo*. It will be seen later that the statement about a king never having been seen in the *entremés* is not absolutely correct.

form, though by listing the *Armelina* as a *comedia antigua*, and, therefore, by implication as an *entremés*, he seems to class all of the older comedies under that heading. This, he asserts, is the custom. Perhaps it was true that no one of Lope's time had any very definite idea in regard to the distinctions of form. To Lope, and perhaps to his contemporaries as he says, an *entremés* may have been one of the old comedies, meaning those of the preceding generation, and especially those of the school of Rueda. If such is the sense of his definition, he is not alone. Salas Barbadillo in his *Coronas del Parnaso y plato de las musas*[66] introduces the part that contains the *entremeses* in the following manner: "Quatro *comedias antiguas*, que el vulgo de España llama entremeses."

The distinction in the mind of these writers is a real one: there is a vast gap between the comedies of the first three-quarters of the sixteenth century, and those of the school of Lope de Vega. But as a definition of the *entremés* the statement is altogether wrong. At most, it would have been possible to say that the *entremés* was one form of the *comedia antigua*. To class all the earlier sixteenth century comedies as *entremeses* was altogether inaccurate.

Another step toward a definition is found in the texts of a little later date. In the definitions of dramatic technical terms given in the *Rhythmica* of Caramuel,[67] the following is that for the *entremés:* "*Entremés* apud hispanos est comoedia brevis, in qua actores ingeniose nugantur." Whether Father José Alcázar was acquainted with the *Rhythmica*, cannot be ascertained with certainty. If not, his definition adds another to the long list of literary parallels. He explains: "*Entremés* es una comedia breve en la cual los actores se burlan ingeniosamente."[68] He adds somewhat to his definition by saying that the ancient mimes were for the express purpose of making the auditors laugh, and "a este género de comedia corresponden

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[66] Madrid, 1635. Passage cited by Morel-Fatio in *La Comédie espagnole du XVIIe siècle*, p. 36, n. 19.

[67] Second edition, Campanial, 1668. *Cit.* Schack, II, 224n.

[68] *Cit.* Restori, *Fragments de théâtre espagnol* in *Revue des langues romanes*, Ser. 5, Vol. I, 1898, p. 147. This Spanish author wrote "vers 1690."

nuestros entremeses." These statements are undoubtedly true so far as they go. The difficulty is that quite as much may be said of other forms. The *gracioso*, in the comedy, "ingeniose nugatur," and he is for the express and definite purpose of making the audience laugh, but his parts do not constitute *entremeses*. There is still lacking a qualitative differentiation. That is supplied in the *Dedicatoria* of D. Manuel Antonio de Vargas to the *Entremeses* of Benavente[69] where the distinctive feature of the form is defined. He speaks of Luis de Benavente as having composed *loas* and *intermedios*,[70] and he says that the former were *parte cuantativa* of the comedy,[71] while the latter were an addition, or substitution for some part of it. Here the writer has touched the heart of the distinction between the *entremés* and the *farsa*, the *comedia*, or the *auto*. The *entremés* is essentially dependent in character. It may be true, as Rouanet says,[72] that the word "au sens propre" does not designate something intercalated.[73] Nevertheless, it was from the time of the *carros* used for some sort of an intercalation.[74] But in any case, of one thing there can be no doubt: as a literary form, the *entremés* was always a secondary and dependent *genre*. There is no authentic record of its having been looked upon in Spain in any other light.

The *entremés* or *passo*, for the words early became synonymous through their use by Timoneda, may, therefore, be defined as a short dramatic composition, usually burlesque or farcical in character,[75] used as a passing-scene for purposes of comic

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[69] Benavente, *Entremeses* (*ed. Libros de Antaño*), Vol. I, p. XXIV. The *Dedicatoria* in question was written Oct. 22, 1645.

[70] *Intermedio* in Spain is a rather unusual and later synonym for *entremés*. This is in direct contrast to Italy where *intermedio* and *intermezzo* were used more or less *ad libitum*.

[71] This is interesting regarding the *loa*. The argument which it contained evidently caused it to be looked upon as an essential, integral part of the play.

[72] *Intermèdes espagnols*, p. I.

[73] It must not be overlooked, however, that *missus* is also past participle of *mitto*.

[74] Mérimée, for instance, speaks of the *tréteaux ambulants* as follows: "Ces représentations *intercalées* sur le parcours de la procession."

[75] The matter of allegory, while it enters the *entremés*, is so unimportant as not to call for attention in the definition. This is exactly the opposite of the Italian case, where the *intermedj* were for the most part either musical or allegorical, or both. In Spain, there is the one case of Timoneda's *Passo de la Razón y la Fama*. In two others, Fama appears, but for comic effect. Allegorical, or comico-allegorical passages sometimes occur. Mérimée's definition seeks to include these also.

relief.[76]

The *genre* defined as complementary, grafted upon a more important one, the question of its position and use arises as a natural consequence. It is found between the prologue and the first act, or *jornada;* it occasionally comes at the close of the play; sometimes, especially in the early years of its development, it falls within the act itself; but mainly the *entremés*, when once it had fully rounded out as a form, was used as an interlude between the acts. Details concerning these various uses must be left for study in connection with the particular times and plays in which they occur. Some of the more general aspects of the positional relation may, however, be touched upon here. In the *Vidriana*,[77] the following order was observed:

Introito.
Jornada I.
Jornada II.
    passo, lines 604–868.
    main action.
Jornada III.
    main action.
    passo, lines 1276–1505.
    main action.
Jornada IV.
    main action.
    passo, lines 1965–2003.
    main action.
    passo, lines 2063–2185.
    main action.

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[76] It may be worth while to cite some of the more modern definitions:

Schack: "Entremeses, o pequeños dramas burlescos, que se representaban entre las jornadas de las comedias, o entre *la loa* y el auto. Su argumento, con ligeras excepciones, está tomado de la vida y costumbres de las clases más bajas del pueblo . . . Frecuentamente son sólo situaciones en bosquejo, escenas sueltas sin enredo dramático."

Rouanet: "L'*entremés* était une courte pièce de théâtre, buffonne et satirique, à peu près dépourvu d'intrigue, que l'on représentait entre les actes du drame principal, afin d'engager l'esprit, de reposer l'attention et de captiver la bienveillance du public. Tel fut, du moins, ce genre de spectacle sous sa forme élémentaire et traditionelle."

[77] Cronan, *Teatro español del siglo XVI*, pp. 171–265.

Jornada V.
main action.
passo, lines 2465–2709.
main action.[78]

Here there are five passing-scenes interspersed at irregular intervals in the play. Timoneda indicated five in the *Colloquio de Timbria* in the *Tabla de los pasos* that he appended to the comedies of Rueda.[79] It is noteworthy that the number given for the various comedies, as indicated in the *Tabla*, varies all the way from one to five. Other early works beside those of Rueda and the *Vidriana* will show the same variation, and the same maximum, with perhaps only one exception which shows more. The *Examen sacrum*[80] is arranged as follows:

Loa
Auto (égloga)
entremés (actio intercalaris)
Auto (suite)
entremés
Auto (suite)

That is to say that, while it is not exactly evenly divided, there are two *entremeses* spaced as though between acts. Toward the close of the sixteenth century and the beginning of the next, the usage seems to have been from one to as many as three, even, with an *auto sacramental*. For instance, for August 25, 1603, there is record of a "concierto de Nicolás de los Rios, autor de comedias . . . sobre ir . . . y hacer por la mañana un auto con dos entremeses";[81] and for March 18, 1624, there is exactly the same statement.[82] The comedy, on the other hand, seems for a time at least to have had regularly three. Rojas writes:[83]

hacian cuatro jornadas,
tres entremeses en ellas.
Y al fin con un bailecito
iba la gente contenta.

[78] This is, of course, before the *entremés* was distinguished as a definite form.
[79] Rueda, *Obras*, II, pp. 137–138.
[80] *Biblioteca de autores españoles*, LVIII, p. 133 et. seq.
[81] Pérez Pastor, *Nuevos datos*, pp. 80–81.
[82] *Idem*, p. 166 and p. 205.
[83] *Viaje entretenido*, I, 145.

And Lope de Vega affirms him:[84]

> Y yo las (*i. e.*, las comedias) escriví, de once a doze años,
> de a cuatro actos y de a cuatro pliegos,
> porque cada acto un pliego contenia:
> y era que entonces en las tres distancias
> se hacian tres pequeños entremeses.[85]

For the year 1604, there is record of the same number being contracted for both with a comedy and with an *auto:* "Obligación de Juan de Parras . . . de que su padre irá . . . y hará por la mañana el auto que hubiere hecho en Madrid con tres entremeses y por la tarde una comedia con otros tres entremeses."[86] Attention must be given to the fact that both Rojas and Lope de Vega refer to the four-act comedy, and that, according to them, an *entremés* was played in every entr'acte. Possibly the last-cited document may have reference also to the four-act comedy, although it is not so stated. On the other hand, the use of three *entremeses* with an *auto* was unusual. It serves only to show how far the number used was from having hardened into a fixed and settled custom by the time of these documents. It seems probable likewise that the matter of expense entered into the consideration. *Loa*, *entremés*, *auto:* each was paid for, so to speak, by the piece.[87] A well-to-do municipality, a wealthy individual or society could afford the full luxury of a comedy or *auto* with *loa*, *entremeses* at every interval, and when they came into being a little later, *bailes*. A more slender purse must be content with less. However, it may safely be said that while the four-act comedy was in vogue, the custom, so far as there was one, was to have the three *entremeses*.

But the number of *jornadas* to the comedy changed during the time of Lope de Vega, and three acts became the accepted form of division. It seems that the number of interludes also

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[84] *Arte nuevo* in *Bulletin Hisp.*, III, p. 379, lines 219–223.

[85] A document of March 13, 1619 calls for three *bailes* or three *entremeses* with each comedy. Pérez Pastor, *Nuevos datos*, p. 176.

[86] Pérez Pastor, *Nuevos datos* (*second series*) in *Bulletin Hisp.*, IX, 1907, p. 369.

[87] "Pagábase, al concluir el siglo, 100 reales por cada loa, 300 por un entremés y mojiganga, 1, 100 reales por la música de los autos, y de 200 a 400 reales por un sainete." Pedroso, intro. to *Bib. de aut. esp.*, Vol. 58, pp. XXIV and XXV. This is somewhat later, but the custom s the same.

changed. In his *Spanish Stage*,[88] Dr. Rennert says, "Generally two *entremeses* accompanied a comedia, though sometimes even three were played, one following the *loa*, and the play always concluded with a *bayle* or dance."

Lope de Vega speaks of a change in the number:[89]

> Y era que entonces en las tres distancias
> se hacian tres pequeños entremeses.
> Y agora apenas uno y luego un bayle.

What, then, seems to be the final fixed and definite usage is found in a play of 1656:[90]

1. Loa de D. Antonio de Solís.
2. Acto primero de la comedia.
3. Entremés de *Los Volatines* (de Solís).
4. Jornada o acto 2.
5. Entremés de Juan Rana, poeta.
6. Jornada 3.
7. Sarao.

It may be noted in passing that by this time *entremeses* and *bailes* were at times used to replace each other between the acts. The two forms, however, were never really confused, nor were the terms ever synonymous.[91]

There remains still a word to be said about the position of the *entremés*. That they might begin a play without regard to the use of the *loa* or *prologue* is made clear by the statement of Timoneda as a second heading to the *Turiana*.[92] In that position the *entremés* may easily be confused with the prologue which at times is also a little playlet, often humorous in content.[93] The distinctive feature of the prologue is the argument

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[88] Pp. 290–291.

[89] *Arte nuevo*, in *op. cit.*, lines 222–224.

[90] Table cited from Cotarelo, *Colección de entremeses* in *Nueva B. de A. E.*, Vol. XVII, intro., p. IV.

[91] *Cf.* Cotarelo, *op. cit.*, intro., pp. IV and V. Also note 85 to the present chapter.

[92] "Aqui comiençan muchos passos y entremeses muy graciosos para principios de farças y comedias," *Obras completas*, I, 159.

[93] The same short introductory playlet, much like an *entremés*, is found in the French theatre. For example, *Les Veaulx* which, as the Frères Parfaict say, "étoit une espèce de Prologue, pour amuser les spectateurs les plus impatients, pendant que les acteurs s'habilloient." Text in Viollet-Leduc, *L'Ancien théâtre français*, VIII, pp. 232–234. *Cit.* from Sydow, *Die französische Originalkomödie des XVI Jahrh.*, p. 14.

of the play that it contains, and this will usually serve to differentiate it.[94] Rarely the *entremés*, even at a late date, takes an unwonted position in the play. For instance, at the close of the first act of Calderón's *El castillo de Lindabridis*, one is found of which Ticknor says, "Calderón has ingeniously made his *entremés* serve as a graceful conclusion to one of the acts of his principal drama."[95] But these cases are sporadic. The form remains essentially a humorous interlude between the acts.

It has been said that the *entremés* was created for purposes of comic relief. Two things served to make some such form absolutely essential. At the time of the beginnings of the *genre*, there was the greatest technical poverty and lack of skill on the part of the artists, rather artisans, who supplied the material for Spain's early theater. How far they were from having any true concept of the rules of their art, one of the most exacting after all, will need no explanation for him who has read the plays of Spain's dramatic sixteenth century. This does not imply cause for condemnation. An art was in its infancy and only struggling to expression. The results of that struggle were no worse than in the case of any other people.[96] But poor, they certainly were. Some prop for weak comedies was altogether essential. In themselves, they lacked the qualities to satisfy either the groundlings or the literati. None of the writers of his time recognized this weakness better than Sánchez de Badajoz:

> Lo que aqui se ha de decir
> serán cosas
> devotas y provechosas;
> y porque vos no durmáis
> algunas cosas graciosas
> diremos con que riáis.[97]

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[94] It has been noted that the *loa* was probably looked upon as an integral part of the play.

[95] Ticknor, *History of Spanish Literature*, II, 445.

[96] That the development is toward a full *genre* in Spain, and away from it in all the other nations of Europe, with the possible exception of Italy, is interesting, but cannot be discussed here. All European literatures of importance had something to correspond at least in a rudimentary form with the *entremés*. It either came to the point of extinction very early, or was reduced to comparative unimportance.

[97] *Cit.* Cotarelo, *Colección* . . . intro., p. LXI, from the *Recopilación*.

And the editor of Benavente strikes the same chord:[98] "de modo que el autor que tenia una mala comedia, con ponerle dos entremeses deste ingenio, le daba muletas para que no cayese, y el que tenia una buena, le ponia alas para que se remontase."[99]

These and similar statements from the pen of early writers might be multiplied, but these will suffice to show the general sense of insufficiency that was one of the causes of the creation of the *genre.*

There were, of course, also more definite technical grounds and uses. Most of these will find place for examination in the chapters that follow. One quotation that lies just beyond the period to be treated may be mentioned in passing. As late as 1624, the *entremés* is spoken of as dividing the *jornadas* of a play. "Una comedia suntuosa . . . entretenida por los bayles y entremeses, que sirvieron de dividir y ocupar los espacios entre una y otra jornada."[100]

If the first great cause for the rise of the form to so considerable an importance in Spain lies in the writers' weakness, the second and still more insistent is their public. As far back as the *Vita Christi* there is a hint of this:

> Por que no puden estar
> en un rigor toda via
> los archos para tirar,
> suelenlos desenpulgar
> alguna pieça del dia;
> pues razon fue declarar
> estas chufas de pastores
> para poder recrear
> despertar y renouar
> la gana de los lectores.[101]

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[98] Benavente, *Entremeses* (*ed. Libros de Antaño*) *Prólogo al lector*, Vol. I, p. XIX. See the whole passage, pp. XVIII and XIX.

[99] For a discussion of the technical poverty that made necessary the *intermezzi* of the *Sacre Rappresentazioni*, see D'Ancona, *Origini*, I, 659.

[100] From a *Relación* among the *Papeles varios de la Biblioteca Colombina*, Vol. IX. *Cit.* Sánchez-Arjona, *El teatro en Sevilla*, p. 246, n. I. The play mentioned was given May 16, 1624. Sánchez-Arjona gives the same passage also in his *Noticias* . . . p. 229, n. I.

[101] Fr. Iñigo de Mendoza, *Vita Christi* in *Cancionero castellano del siglo XV*, Vol. I. (In *Nueva B. de A. E.*, Vol. XIX.) *Cit.* also Crawford, *Spanish Pastoral Drama*, p. 12.

This, naturally, might quite as well lead in the drama simply to the introduction of certain integral comic elements. It usually does just that. The important thing for the present study is that in Spain it leads to the development of a new form. The technical inability of the writers precludes the possibility of the working out of integral elements. The dramatists follow the line of least resistance, and that leads directly to the *entremés*.

The question of the turbulence of the public and its effect on the player or *autor* recurs again and again in the literature of the time. In the *Farsa sacramental de las bodas de España*:[102]

> Aqui no basta destreza,
> si no nos da viento en popa;
> porque al que menos tropieza
> le cortan por gentileza
> los auditores la ropa.

Cristóbal Suárez de Figueroa in *El Pasagero*[103] says, "La plebe no es menos peligrosa desde sus bancos o grados," and he goes on to tell the ways in which the groundlings disturbed or even destroyed a play. Rojas in his *Viaje entretenido* complains unceasingly of the difficulty of pleasing the public. And Lope de Vega:

> Quede muy pocas vezes el teatro
> sin persona que hable, porque el vulgo
> en aquellas distancias se inquieta.[104]

This goes to the heart of the matter. The writers of plays cast about for some means of quieting the public, of filling all gaps. The *entremés*,—to some extent also the *baile*,—is the result. Considering all things: the inability of the writers along technical lines, the coarse, yet exacting public, demanding certain kinds of entertainment, but wholly unable to decide from the point of view of the merit or demerit of the structure of the play; the necessity in which the author found himself of supplying

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[102] From the *loa* of play cited. Pub. in *B. de A. E.*, Vol. 58. See the whole passage.
[103] Page 76.
[104] *Arte nuevo* in *Bulletin Hispanique*, Vol. III, p. 379.

something not alone while the play was going on, but in those intervals, either within or between the acts, when so far as the intrigue was concerned the action must be held back: considering all these things, the *entremés* is perhaps the best answer to the need that could have been devised. It is not, as it looks on the surface, altogether an expression of weakness. In the long run, it may even be a demonstration of skill, if not, certainly, of artistry.

These, then, are the local reasons for the *genre*. The question also arises whether there were not at the same time broader historic causes and sources. Here the field must be much less certain. The solution of the inception of the idea of a passing-scene for relief must be left to a general study of the form in European literature. This much is certain: the *entremés* belongs to a general phenomenon once current in all Europe, that found its highest growth in the sixteenth century; its climax in the first half or two-thirds of the succeeding, and its decline before the beginning of the eighteenth. The solution of the problem is not to be found by tracing the course of comic material, for of that only a minor part belongs to the passing-scene, and even that part is by no means its exclusive property. The distinguishing mark of this movement is that it gave rise to a particular form, of any content whatever,[105] incidental in another. The Spanish *entremés*, and the passing-play in general may, as Rudwin says,[106] arise out of the minstrel tradition, and the popular spirit of play, but that is scarcely to make a distinction. The whole modern drama comes from a combination of three sources: the church, the minstrel tradition, and the popular spirit of play.[107] Traces of the form under consideration

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[105] In Spain, nearly always, it is comic; in Germany, comic or didactic; in Italy, allegorical or musical, sometimes comic. If musical, it became the ancestor of the *melodramma*. In France, it is mainly comic. The English interlude, it has already been said, probably does not belong to the movement. See Chambers, Vol. II. The word interlude may, however, apply to plays, or parts of plays, that have the character of *entremeses*. For instance, Burton speaks of Xenophon as "(shutting) up all with a pleasant interlude or dance of Dionysius and Ariadne." *Anatomy of Melancholy* (ed., 1826) II, 274–275. The *entremés* as a separate miniature play to close a larger one has already been mentioned. The bibliography for France or Italy would be too long to cite. For Germany, see Hammes, *Das Zwischenspiel . . .* in *Literarhistorische Forschungen*, XLV, for the period 1500–1660.

[106] *Origin of the German Carnival Comedy*, p. 49.

[107] Humanism later adds the classics, which, however, were not entirely absent either in the church or the minstrel tradition.

are much older in Europe than the sixteenth or even the fifteenth centuries, but not in such plays as the Atellanae where they have generally been sought. The passing-play of modern days does, however, in a few cases retain the function of the *exodium*. Schlegel has called attention to the fact that in Euripides the songs are frequently episodical and bear no relation to the action. In his *Italic Origins*, Toscanelli speaks of one of the Greek comedies, *Hercules in the Grotto of Pholus*, ca. 500 B. C., where "la scena pare che finisse in lazzi e mimiche grotesche."[108] In the mysteries, farces and farce scenes were intercalated. For instance, "cy apres sont . . . miracles de madame sainte Genevieve. Et sachiez que . . . a parmy farsses *entees*, afin que le jeu soit mains fade et plus plaisans."[109] In plays like the *Jeu de Saint Nicholas* of Bodel, passing-scenes occur. The quarrel between Connart and Raoul over the "crying" of the tavern-keeper's wine is a scene apart from the real action of the play, whose intrigue is as a whole definite and closely knit.[110]

But above all important in a study of the interlude as the term is to be understood outside of England, lying at the very foundations of the European drama, is a phenomenon that occurs in the church service: the tropes. These, from which the mediaeval liturgical drama takes its rise, are themselves intercalations. They are, of course, not wholly separate from the main thesis. Rather, they are enlargements and elucidations in a few cases developing into little playlets.[111] But they bear in themselves the germs of a custom: that of making interpolations. This is the habit from which springs the *entremés*. The so-called *textes farcis* belong to the same tradition.[112] The tropes themselves are not by any means always strictly religious enlargements. The later ones at least are at times profane to the point of indecency.[113] Going still farther

[108] Toscanelli, *Le Origini italiche*, I, *La Letteratura*, p. 299 and *passim*.

[109] Jubinal, *Mystères inédits*, I, 281. *Cit.* also D'Ancona, *Origini*, I, 70, 71 n.

[110] Lines 595–657.

[111] See for France, the writers on the tropes, Gauthier, etc. For Italy, D'Ancona.

[112] D'Ancona, *Origini*, I, 63.

[113] "Many of the later tropes are trivial, indecent, or profane," Chambers, *Mediaeval Stage*, II, p. 8, n. 1.

than the tropes, however, are the interpolations known as the *conductus*. They are independent units, essentially musical, and not a development at all of the thesis of the text.[114] At this point, the same complete separation that is found in the interlude is reached. The mock ceremony known as the Boy Bishop, the *obispillo*, was also a grafting of extraneous elements, secular and comic, upon the service of the church on certain stated holy-days. In its possible connection with the *entremés*, this spectacle is especially important for Spain because it is known to have existed there certainly in the fifteenth century, and apparently according to existing documents much earlier.[115]

A form of more or less dramatic intercalation is, therefore, the common property of the Middle Ages and the succeeding centuries, a heritage that, on occasion, as in the case of the *entremés*, was to develop to meet certain needs in the life of the drama. That direct necessity in Spain has been discussed in the preceding pages. Spain must have had much the same dramatic background as the rest of Europe despite the scarcity of direct evidence.[116] That being the case, she would have possessed long before its earliest traces as a form, the germ of the *entremés*. To look for any closer source for the *beginnings* of the form is to look only for its application as a piece of dramatic technique. Hammes, in a certain sense, is in all likelihood correct when he says, "Das Zwischenspiel ist in Deutschland, wie in Frankreich, England, Spanien, *durchaus selbständig erwachsen* und weist erst spät und nicht allgemein, fremde . . . Einflüsse auf."[117]

There can be no question of influence of the German *Zwischenspiel* on the *entremés* between 1500 and 1600. Nevertheless, the German form shows a greater similarity to the Spanish than does any other. There are undoubtedly in the two varia-

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[114] Chambers, *op. cit.*, I, 282, n. I.

[115] Crawford, *A Note on the Boy Bishop in Spain* in *Romanic Review*, Vol. XIII, 146–154. See also Milá y Fontanals, *Orígenes del teatro catalán* in Vol. VI of the *Obras completas*, and Chambers, *Mediaeval Stage*, Vol. I.

[116] Cejador, *Historia de la lengua y literatura castellana*, I, 403. Bonilla and others have also expressed the belief that Spain knew the mystery. If so, then the rest of the general liturgical backgrounds must have been her property also.

[117] Hammes, *Das Zwischenspiel* . . . in *op. cit.*, p. 50.

tions of purpose at times. The German *Zwischenspiel* has often didactic ends in view; the Spanish, practically never. But barring such points, the history of one, in its broader outlines, might well be used as the history of the other. On the other hand, the true Italian *intermezzo*, older than the *entremés*, and where one might expect to find the source at least of the idea, has very little in common with the Spanish *entremés*. As to the influence of the *commedia dell'arte*, there can be no question of source at the origins. The roots of the *entremés* are found long before the time of the earliest extant *scenario*.[118] Moreover, the *scenari* as they have come down show a fully-developed play with nothing to speak of in common with the *entremés* except the *lazzi*.[119] The probable influence the latter had on the Spanish form belongs not to its inception, not to the source of the idea, but to the development of an already-created form, and hence to the succeeding chapters.

The one possible source in Italy for the idea of the form in Spain is in the "intermedj contadineschi" of the early Italian comedy and the *Sacre Rappresentazioni*. They had much the same purpose as the early *entremés*, and were developed and treated in much the same way.[120] Their content, likewise, shows many similarities, though, as has been insisted, comic content makes the hunt for sources very uncertain. Humor and comedy are too universal.[121] In point of time, these *intermedj* were known in Italy long before she sent her troupes of players to Spain, antedating even the time of Encina. As Borghini says, "al tempo de' nostri padri non si faceva commedia, che

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[118] The oldest *scenario* dates from the year 1568. Driesen, *Ursprung des Harlekin*, p. 193, n. 4. Some of the personages, however, like the *Zanni* date from between 1500 and 1550. *Idem*, p. 193, n. 7. See also D'Ancona, *Origini*, I, 602, n. 4. Others like *Pulcinella* belong to the early seventeenth century. Croce, *Saggi sulla lett. ital. del Seicento*, pp. 203 and 207. Driesen *op. cit.*, p. 230, n. 9. Scherillo, however, feels sure that the *Pulcinella* "nacque nel cinquecento." *La commedia dell'arte in Italia*, pp. 48–49.

[119] Bartoli says (*Scenari inediti*, intro., p. X), "la commedia dell'arte è essenzialmente commedia di intreccio, e sempre d'intreccio amoroso." This statement alone suffices to destroy all relationship with the early *entremés*.

[120] See Giannini, *Origini del dramma musicale* in *Propugnatore*, XXVI (N. S., Vol. VI), Pt. I, p. 239.

[121] For instance, an *intermezzo* entitled *Una questione di dua fattori* that closes the *Rappresentazione di un Pelligrino* recalls strongly certain gaming-scenes in the earliest Spanish plays. These latter are also often passing-scenes. D'Ancona, *Sacre Rappresentazioni*, III, 430–433.

buona parte del riso non dipendesse da un framesso de' contadini."[122] They are simply comic passing-scenes such as will be found strewn everywhere in the Spanish plays before Rueda.

Men like Encina and Torres Naharro with their long Italian residence, and their contact with Italian literature must undoubtedly have been acquainted with such *framessi*. They must have understood and appreciated the technique of those scenes. There is, however, no proof that they copied them directly. In fact, there is proof that at least Rueda among the early writers avoided the comic passages in the plays he translated for the Spanish stage, substituting for them his own. Yet Encina and his followers would not be altogether forgetful of what they had seen and known in Italy. That knowledge would naturally be the source of their idea, and they would adapt their own material to scenes of a similar nature. And here, it seems most probable, was where Spain received *the first outside impulse for the creation of the form*. What she borrowed was an idea, linking it with her own liturgical backgrounds so far as they may have existed, and to her internal needs and conditions.[123]

With these foundation steps in mind, it is possible to pass to a consideration of the actual creation of the literary form in Spain in the closing years of the fifteenth and the early years of the sixteenth centuries.

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[122] *Cit.* D'Ancona, *Origini*, I, 602.

[123] The mediaeval popular farce must not pass unmentioned. Brander Matthews says of these playlets, "The crude farces of these wandering minstrels may have been mere dramatized anecdotes, practical jokes in dialogue, pantomimic horse-play of an elementary type; they were wholly unliterary, and, being often even unwritten, they have rarely been preserved." *The Mediaeval Drama* in *Modern Philology*, I, p. 80. This sounds close to the *entremés* which, as far as material goes, is often a "practical joke in dialogue" or a "dramatized anecdote." But the mere fact that the two are alike as regards material does not offer any real proof of anything in particular. Farce material is too general a property. Moreover, there is nothing to show that these were in any sense of the word passing-plays, and its secondary character is in the last analysis the distinguishing feature of the form in Spain. The strong similarity may be due at least in part to the fact that the wandering minstrel of the old days and the Spanish dramatist were both doing the same thing: drawing comic material from the life of the people.

II

Development Before Lope de Rueda[1]

Long before the name by which it was to be known was applied to it, the form existed, though often in only the most rudimentary way. Scenes that are in every wise *entremeses* are found frequently in Spanish plays of the first half of the sixteenth century. In considering such passages, especially in the early years of their development before they can be looked upon as forming a well-established literary *genre*, one of the most important considerations is their essentially[2] dependent character. What must first and above all determine whether a given passage is or is not *entremés* in character, is its intercalation as essentially independent of the plot of the play. Other than this, the delimitations of these scenes are by no means fixed and definite. It must be understood, moreover, that in most cases the early writers did not in all probability look upon them as actual *entremeses*. Nevertheless, whether looked upon as such or not, these detached passages contain in germ the future *entremés*, and cannot be ignored in a consideration of its origin and development.

A search for the earliest traces of what was to become a literary form of considerable importance leads back to Encina. The Carnival Eclogues, published in the *Cancionero* of 1496, and dating back to 1494 for their first presentation, show certain characteristics, at least in subject-matter, that will be common to many *entremeses* of subsequent date, and Kohler has looked upon them as forerunners of the type.[3] There is, however, one vital objection to counting these eclogues as true prototypes of the *passo*. They can scarcely be considered comic-relief, or passing-scenes: they form individual plays in themselves.

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[1] The subject of the present chapter was treated in part in an article by the author entitled *Development of the Entremés before Lope de Rueda*, pub. in *Publ. of the Modern Language Association of America*, Vol. XXXVII, No. 2, 1922, pp. 187–207.

[2] The importance of this qualifying adverb will be made clear in the present chapter.

[3] Kohler, *Representaciones de Juan del Encina*, p. 11

The second *Égloga representada en requesta de unos amores* begins with a passage that serves as an introduction, and the second scene continues the argument of the preceding eclogue. We are told that a year has passed. Here the author seems to have felt the need of dividing his composition. It is at such a point, as between two *jornadas*, that at a later date the insertion of an *entremés* might be expected. The *passo* as such did not exist at the time, but Encina inserted a song and dance after Gil had said:

Déjate de sermonar
en esto, que está escusado.
Démonos a gasajado:
a cantar, danzar, bailar.

It would appear, then, that Encina feared a wavering of interest on the part of his audience at this critical point, either from attention too long sustained, or lest his material lacked sufficient dramatic intensity. It is from just such technical considerations as the desire to introduce more variety, or sometimes to divide scenes, that the *entremés* takes its rise and develops. In the works of Lucas Fernández, who wrote probably only a few years later than these earlier eclogues of Encina, exactly the same thing occurs. In one of his plays,[4] after a dialogue between Bras Gil and Beringuella, they break off the conversation, dance and sing,[5] and then with the appearance of a new personage, the course of the action continues.[6] Still another example is found in the *Égloga real* of Fernando de Prado, played before Charles I in December, 1517,[7] where a *villancico*

[4] *Comedia hecha por Lucas Fernández, ca.* 1500.

[5] The use of *intermedi di musica* was the regular thing in the more pretentious Italian plays of the whole sixteenth century, and the insertion of music or singing interspersed in, but not connected with, the plot of the play is, according to every indication, much older. It is quite possible that Encina, and perhaps some of the other early dramatists of Spain, steeped in Italian culture, found there their ideas for the interludes here under discussion. That they lack the pomp and importance of those found in Italy is in line with the whole situation of the drama in the respective countries.

[6] This use of music to relieve the tension of a situation in a drama or to gain the good-will of an audience is of ancient and far-reaching use. The Greek chorus, especially where the music does not relate to the main action (see Chapter I), seems to have had some such purpose. Music to win the good-will of an audience for a play is found even in Hindu literature. Witness the prologue to the *Sakoontala*.

[7] Kohler, *Sieben spanische dramatische Eklogen*, in Vol. XXVII, *Gesellschaft für romanische Literatur*, p. 158, Dresden, 1911.

in praise of the king is inserted. Some sort of a break for relief is all the more necessary here in view of the poverty of the action.[8] While it cannot be called in any sense comic, it is none the less a relief scene, and shows the general need and tendency that lead to the inception of the *entremés*.

In the *Égloga de tres pastores*,[9] whose source is the second eclogue of Antonio Tebaldeo,[10] one scene shows certain relationships to the *entremés*. Fileno loves Cefira. With the impassioned eloquence of a lover, he recounts to Zambardo the woes of his unrequited love. But the latter is a dullard, and as Fileno rises in eloquence, his companion falls asleep. Fileno arouses him. Again he sleeps, to be reawakened, stupid with drowsiness and babbling nonsense. This so-called "sleeping-scene" forms Encina's only real addition to his Italian original. Neither such a scene nor the character Zambardo appears in the eclogue of Tebaldeo. In the Spanish play, the whole passage bears no relation to the intrigue. In fact, its comic content serves to form a contrast to this first of Spanish tragedies. It seems to have been this variety, later secured by the insertion of an *entremés*, that Encina sought to attain,[11] and in so doing he at least approaches the *genre*.

The *Auto del Repelón* which, like the *Égloga de tres pastores*, is included first in the *Cancionero* of 1509, has often been considered one of the earliest *entremeses*. It undoubtedly does show many characteristics of the form, and might easily have been used as an *entremés*. The great objection to looking upon it as belonging to the type is, as in the case of the Carnival Eclogues already mentioned, that it probably was written not as a passing-scene for purposes of comic relief, but to constitute a completely independent play with no subordinate function in a larger dramatic form. But while this play does not in itself belong to the type, its content is such that it must have had an influence on the development of the *entremés*. In fact,

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[8] *Idem*, p. 157.

[9] Kohler thinks it was probably composed between 1507 and 1509. It appears first in the *Cancionero* of 1509. *Cf. Representaciones de Juan del Encina*, in *Biblioteca Romanica*, intro., p. 10.

[10] Crawford, *Spanish Pastoral Drama*, p. 34.

[11] Crawford, *idem*, p. 35.

there are passing-scenes, subsequently written, that recall it strongly, though they cannot be said to have been copied directly. In this sense, therefore, Kohler,[12] Ford,[13] Cotarelo,[14] and others have not been altogether unjustified in speaking of its relation to the *entremés*.

When in 1513 Encina gave his *Plácida y Vitoriano* at the home of Cardinal Arborea in Rome,[15] he used in three of its scenes material that shows the type of the *entremés*. As compared to the developed form, they are naturally rather crude, and they present no dramatic unity, but the whole purpose of the author seems to have been to break the thread of the plot with relief-scenes, and that, as has been seen, is in the last analysis the chief distinguishing feature of the early form.

The first of these scenes, between Flugencia and the bawd Eritea, shows clearly the influence of the *Celestina*. Both Placida and Vitoriano feel that the love they bear each for the other is unrequited. Suplicio counsels Vitoriano to make love to another as a means of forgetting Placida. He accepts the suggestion and courts Flugencia. All this forms a long series of monologue and dialogue of serious nature. It is abruptly at this point, as a relief-scene and wholly apart from the action of the play, that the passage in question occurs. Its coarse wit furnishes the strongest possible contrast to the main intrigue.

The second scene of the kind forms a contrast between the courtly conception of love and the rough manners of the shepherds as conceived by Encina, and by no means pictured after

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[12] *Sieben spanische dramatische Eklogen*, p. 121. Kohler thinks he can find Italian influence on this *auto*. So far as the actual material is concerned, the subject was certainly extremely familiar in the time in which it was written, so familiar that a purely literary source does not seem necessary. Encina needed only the faintest trace of the power to observe to find his material ready at hand.

[13] *Main Currents of Spanish Literature*, p. 108.

[14] *Estudios de historia literaria*, I, 181; also p. 167.

[15] Carolina Michaëlis de Vasconcellos doubts the possibility of dating this play from the oft-cited letter of Stazio Gadio. *Cf. Revista de filología española*, V, 1918, pp. 337–366, where she says, "Atendendo às ultimas frases da carta, que todos alegam convictos, a favor da sua hipotesi, julgando que a frase sobre as *forças e acidentes de amor* indica o assunto da comedia, eu acho todavia muito duvidoso, e de maneira nenhuma *indubitavel*, que a representada fosse a de Placida y Vitoriano." (P. 362.) For the opposite view, see Cotarelo, *Estudios de historia literaria*, I, 128–29 and n., and also Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antología*, VI, p. IX.

nature.[16] Vitoriano and Suplicio are hunting for Placida who has disappeared. In their quest, they seek information of the shepherds Gil and Pascual. So far the author seems to have tried to relate the passing-scene to the eclogue. He but serves to accentuate the fact that he is groping; the type is not yet established. The lover and his friend leave, following the directions of the shepherds. Gil expresses sympathy for the unhappy lovers; Pascual retorts impatiently, and then suggests a game of cards. They play, and Gil loses, remarking philosophically over his want of luck:

> Mas hágate buen provecho
> que perdiendo he de aprender.

They hear some sounds, and uncertain whence they come, decide to investigate, but Gil's legs are benumbed, and he cannot walk fast. A *villancico* to *Amor* closes the scene.

The third passage which closely approaches the *entremés* follows the *Vigilia de la enamorada muerta*. Gil and Pascual are gathering flowers for a garland, as Gil says "A tus amores," but with at least a connotating remembrance of the dead Placida. The touch seems rather artistic, but undeveloped. Suplicio enters, lamenting her death. The shepherds take him for a thief. After he has explained his mission, they refuse to go with him until they shall have taken a nap, and when Suplicio protests, Pascual cries out:

> Velad si quisierdes vos,
> mas tené la lengua queda.

Suplicio consents to the arrangement. Thereupon the scene changes to where the body of Placida lies.

The comic content of the passage is not great. It recalls the sleeping-scene of the *Égloga de tres pastores*. Here again shepherds, unable to understand the nature of the sufferings of a courtly lover, sufferings in this case related by a friend, are

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[16] Such a misconception of the courtly idea of love is found also in a *Zwischenspiel* of the *Spiel von Appius und Claudius*. Of this scene, Hammes says, "Die zweite Szene (*i. e.*, Zwischenszene) nimmt Bezug auf die Haupthandlung, indem Heinj mit komischer Entstellung der Vorgänge sich wundert, dasz zwei Männer sich um ein Mädchen streiten konnten; er wurde sein zankisches Weib sofort einem anderen abtreten." *Das Zwischenspiel* . . . in *op. cit.*, p. 22. The analogy between the two is rather close.

overcome by sleep. Its chief importance in a study of the *entremés* is that it has no real connection with the eclogue, and the purpose seems to be only for comic relief after the recital of the long *vigilia*.

The *Égloga ynterlocutoria* of Diego de Ávila, a play of early date,[17] has several scenes that show a relation to the *entremés*. The first of these is a sleeping-scene recalling to a considerable extent the one in the *Égloga de tres pastores*. Tenorio, a shepherd, is fast asleep. When Benito, a match-maker, tries to arouse him in order to discuss with him a marriage he proposes to bring about between Turpina and Tenorio, the latter babbles nonsense, and cannot be awakened. The scene is for comic effect, and bears no more relation to the play than did the one cited from Encina.

Another wholly detached scene is that which begins with the stage-direction "aqui comienza a alabar al Gran Capitan," lines 528 to 580. Tenorio brings it to a close with the observation:

> Queres saber, padre, qué tengo pensado?
> Que entramos a dos tomais por remedio
> d'estaros metiendo palabras en medio,
> porqu'este mi hecho se quede olvidado.

This is not, however, a comic-relief scene, and does not, save for its detachment from the play, belong to the *entremés*.

The scene between Toribuelo and Hontoya, lines 641 to 706, forms a true comic-relief dialogue. Toribuelo enters asking Hontoya, Tenorio's father, for the keys on the pretext that his son needs them to get his Sunday clothes. The key secured, Toribuelo takes advantage of his chance to make away with Hontoya's whole stock of wine, and Tenorio enters dressed in his best, showing that Toribuelo's excuse was merely a trick.

Yet in spite of the presence of such scenes in considerable numbers, it is certain that as late as 1513 they were not looked upon as *entremeses*, nor had that name yet been given to a dramatic form. In that year, Lebrija in his dictionary defines, "entremés de La Tarasca—Manducus." That is all the

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[17] Kohler dates it prior to 1511. *Cf. Sieben spanische dramatische Eklogen*, in *pub. cit.*, p. 168.

definition he had to give, and it is clear that he still associated the word with those mummings and carnival shows in connection with which it was discussed in the previous chapter.[18]

The dramatic works of Lucas Fernández offer no material for a study of the form except for the single instance that has already been mentioned. Comedy constitutes an inherent part of his plays, either to bring about an explanation of religious doctrines or to contrast courtly manners with the ignorance of the peasants as long-standing aristocratic traditions conceived them. It does not appear in the form of detached passing-scenes. It is to Torres Naharro, who in so many respects anticipated the dramas of the following century, that one must turn in a study of experiments in the new form. The *entremés*, in so far as the detached scenes belong to the *genre*, exists in considerable numbers in his plays, though still not looked upon as a form complete in itself.

In the *Comedia Serafina*, the trick scene in the fourth *jornada* has no organic connection with the plot of the play, and forms an episode that will compare favorably with some of the *entremeses* of fifty years later. Gomecio and Lenicio, two servants, meet. The former talks a macaronic Latin. Lenicio tells him that Dorosia has said to her mistress that Gomecio is infatuated with her. Gomecio is incredulous, and Lenicio promises to assure his lady's favor by an incantation. He ties the dupe's fingers, and utters the formula, composed, as he says, of "ciertas palabras caldeas," in reality a jargon. Then he deserts Gomecio, leaving him tied. In response to the latter's cries, Teodoro, the friar, appears and Gomecio receives at his hands the reward of his credulity while Lenicio gloats over the success of his practical joke.

The servant-scene in the first jornada[19] is unrelated to the plot, but belongs to a sub-plot which connects with the scene discussed from the fourth *jornada*. It has a certain technical purpose in that during the latter part of it Dorosia is supposed

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[18] Bonilla y San Martín, *Las Bacantes*, pp. 86–87, and 86, n. 5.

[19] *Propaladia*, I, pp. 144–148. The passing scene begins with the speech of Lenicio, "Primero me besaras. . . ." All references to the *Propaladia* are to the edition in the *Libros de Antaño*.

to deliver a message from her mistress to Floristan. Such technical purposes are frequently filled by the device of passing-scenes in the early plays not alone in Spain, but in Europe in general. The situation, moreover, while crude and undeveloped, is of a nature to place the scene in question with the beginnings of the *entremés*.

The second and fourth *jornadas* of the *Comedia Trofea* are in reality *entremeses*. Both are quite separate from the intrigue of the play. The first introduces two gardeners and a page. An interesting feature of this is its division into two parts by a song and dance. Such scenes are slowly crystallizing in form and adopting the various dramatic devices. The scene of the fourth *jornada*, while it has no relation to the play itself, is slightly prepared by the closing lines of the second. In content, it is perhaps scarcely *entremés*, although it plays the part of one. To the two gardeners of the second *jornada* are added two others, Mingo Oveja and Gil Bragado. The four offer gifts to the prince, Don Juan. It includes a typical quarrel arising over the question of whose right it is to speak, and a misunderstanding on the part of the four personages as to what disposition court custom requires should be made of the presents. This is but a variation of the misunderstanding of courtly love as a theme in the contrasts of *Plácida y Vitoriano*. Some break of the sort offered by this *jornada* is more than obligatory in view of the poverty of the action. The first *jornada* is at best no very animated dialogue. Much of it is composed of long-winded speeches. The third *jornada* is a single monologue of 280 lines. The passing-scenes serve to relieve and animate this background. The whole forms an entirely typical situation for the rise of the *genre*. It would be hard to find a better setting for its earliest traces, or a clearer example of its first uses and purpose.

In the last *jornada* of the same play, the scene in which Mingo borrows the wings of Fame, and comes to grief when he attempts to fly is also really an *entremés* in both material and character as well as separability. If it may be so regarded, it is probably the earliest example of such a scene used at the close of a play.

In both the *Comedia Soldadesca* and the *Comedia Tinellaria*, it is extremely difficult to determine what scenes may be looked

upon as *entremeses*. Many in character and content are what seem to be passing-scenes, but the very nature of the subjects of these plays affords a chance for the introduction of loosely connected, or even wholly disconnected scenes that have nevertheless their justification and belong to the plot, if plot there is, in that they lend to the picture that the author is presenting. To that extent they become integral parts of the whole, and the fact that they may be separated from the play is in this case scarcely sufficient in itself to justify classing them as *entremeses*. Some of them, however, contain excellent material for the form as that, for instance, in the *Comedia Soldadesca* in which some soldiers strive to force the landlord to supply their wants.

In the fifth *jornada* of the *Comedia Jacinta*, there is a scene that recalls to a considerable extent the *intermedi di contadini* of the earliest Italian plays. It is very much like a written and extended *lazzo*. The lady Divina is interviewing the travellers who have been brought to the castle at her command. One of these, named Precioso, bursts out in a tirade against the corruption of Roman manners and morals, and Pagano, a *rústico*, who has much in common with the *landsknecht* of the German *Zwischenspiel* and with the *contadino* of the early Italian plays, makes a witty reply. The traveller answers, and Pagano becomes impertinent until his mistress punishes him with a blow for a coarse remark that he has made. Thereupon the thread of the main action is taken up again. The whole scene[20] is entirely foreign to the action. It forms an *entremés* and, as has been said, seems not unlike the *lazzi* so far as one may judge what they were.[21]

The *Comedia Calamita* contains abundant material that closely resembles the *entremeses* of a little later date, but in the main so skilfully blended with the action as to make it inseparable from the p'ay. Torcazo, the *simple;* his wife, and the

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[20] *Propaladia*, II, pp. 115–120.

[21] Scherillo has called attention to the impossibility of deciding how far the *lazzi* became sources, even in Italy, for the written comedy. They were, as he says, "sempre solamente accennati." *La Commedia dell'arte in Italia*, p. 23. In the case of Torres Naharro now under consideration, there can be no question of a source other than the probable one of his idea.

young student are types that will figure in the *passos* of Lope de Rueda. The trick that Iusquino plays on Torcazo in passing himself off as a relative is such as frequently occurs in the *entremés* in its developed form. On the whole, it would seem not unlikely that both in the matter of types and material it, in common with several scenes in this comedy, had a certain influence on the development of the form. As it stands here, however, it belongs to the action. The same may be said of the trick that Fileo plays on Torcazo in the second *jornada*. It also belongs to the play—by grace!—and yet it is extraordinarily in the manner of the *passos* of Rueda. So much is this the case, that one must wonder whether inspiration for the latter may not have been in some measure derived from it.

One scene, however, in this play seems to have all the elements of the *entremés*. It occurs in the fifth *jornada* while Euticio is waiting for his son to come out so that he can settle with him, the term being understood in the true parental sense. Iusquino persuades Torcazo to feign himself dead. This arranged, the former sets up an outcry. In response to his calls, Libina, Torcazo's wife, and the student enter, and in reply to Libina's lament, the student replies:

> Callarte cumple a fe
> por mi amor;
> muérase, qu'es un traidor
> de tu placer enemigo:
> yo me casaré contigo
> y aun te serviré mejor.

Whereupon Torcazo arises from his pretended swoon, filled with wrath and much to the discomfiture of the student and his wife. In passing, it may be noted that this scene is not original with Torres Naharro. Its source is found in *La Calandria* of Bibbiena.[22]

But although only this one scene is actually separable from the play, and for that reason the rest may not be accounted true *entremeses*, the entire action between Libina, Torcazo, Iusquino,

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[22] Flamini, *Il Cinquecento*, p. 317 and Crawford, *Note on the "Comedia Calamita" of Torres Naharro* in *Mod. Lang. Notes*, Vol. XXXVI, p. 17.

and the student forms a subordinate plot in itself, only more or less loosely related to the main intrigue. In connection with a play of somewhat later date, to be examined shortly, attention will be called again to this fact in its possible relation to the development of the *entremés*.

In the *Comedia Aquilana*, the second *jornada* is entirely separable from the play and forms an *entremés* despite the fact that the author seems to have wanted to give it a certain connection by the closing lines in which Dileta delivers a message to Aquilano from her mistress, a message, by the way, of no importance, since it is simply to tell Aquilano that Felicina wants him to come "alone and early" to the rendezvous his lady had given him on their parting.[23] Nor does the fact that the traces the gardener finds are those made by the lover in his clandestine visit to his sweetheart[24] make it any the less a passing-scene, inasmuch as the discovery leads to nothing of importance for the plot. It is, as has already been shown in several cases, not uncommon to find these comic-relief scenes given a semblance of relationship to the play in some such manner as this by the early writers. In this passage, the personages, two gardeners, a servant, and a maid-servant, are types that have already been found in similar scenes by the same author. The argument is as follows: two gardeners while at work find footprints in the garden. Galterio fears the loss of his wages because of the damage done by the intruder. The scene is one of the earliest to offer a definite discussion of social conditions. Dandario closes it with the words:

> Desos vienen
> los que mas pompa mantienen.
> Y aquellos contino veo
> mas tristes por lo que tienen
> que yo por lo que deseo.

Dileta, the maid, enters asking for Faceto, and the latter part of the *jornada* is a dialogue between the two. While the scene is an *entremés* in its separable character and from the types it

[23] *Propaladia*, II, 258.
[24] See the argument, *Propaladia*, II, 239.

portrays, the comparative seriousness of its tone seems to remove it somewhat from the form. It is from this gardener scene, as well as from certain other passages in Torres Naharro, that Jayme de Güete drew the inspiration, if not the actual material, for some of his *passos*.

In the fourth *jornada* of the same play is a scene that may be reckoned as belonging to the nascent form in that its only real purpose is the technical one of allowing a lapse of time. It occurs between the point at which the king sends a page for the ladies, and their entrance.[25] There is a semblance of relationship to the plot attempted when the king says that the fun-making is needful, something should be done to mitigate Aquilano's suffering: but this is only a pretext. The content is entirely unimportant. The more or less coarse humor of the gardener furnishes the subject matter. Its remoteness from the intrigue of the play is more than clear at the close when one of the doctors says:

> Pues nos habeis alegrado,
> yos digo ques cosa sana
> ir a comer un bocado
> y a beber por la mañana,

and sends them off with a gratuity for their services. It is no longer Aquilano who is thought of. The doctor says "nos," and that *nos* can fairly be taken to mean audience as well as actors.

This technical use of a passing-scene to allow a necessary lapse of time, possibly found here for the first time in the Spanish theater, will be observed time and again as the *entremés* develops. It may, perhaps, be due in some measure to the helplessness and technical weaknesses of the writers of the time. It is, however, a device that belongs to a study of the passing-scene, not alone in Spain, but wherever such scenes are found. Passages of the sort, or musical interludes, whose main purpose is to allow either the time for the delivery of a message, or for a happening not actually presented on the stage, or to indicate a journey from one place to another, whether near or far, are

[25] *Propaladia*, II, 310–314.

found in the plays of France, Italy, and Germany, and could be traced through the length and breadth of Europe. They are found in Italy at least as early as the *Sacre rappresentazioni*,[26] and it is possible that from there they found their way out to other lands, or again it may be simply one of the freak tricks of analogy. For Spain, only this much may be said: Torres Naharro who first used the passing-scene there in this way was undoubtedly familiar with Italian plays.[27]

From this outline of some of the principal passages that may be looked upon as bearing a relation to the *entremés*, it will be seen how extensive was Torres Naharro's contribution to the development of the form.[28] As regards character types, he has servants, a maid-servant, a friar, a page, gardeners, a *simple* and his wife, a student, and the allegorical personage Fame, the last-named used, however, for comic effect, and not for the sake of allegory. In the *passos* of Rueda, appear the type of lackey to correspond somewhat with the servant, the *fregona* who may be more or less equivalent to the maid-servant of Torres Naharro, the page, the *simple* and his wife, a friar, beside other clerical characters, a gardener, and the allegorical personage, Fame. Just how far Torres Naharro may be considered a creator of types it is not possible to decide, but the fact remains that in his works are to be found at least a majority of the more important ones that appear in the *entremés* during the next half-century. Nor is his contribution confined to types as a glance at the material of his followers will show.

One of the most important of these, so far as the *entremés* is concerned, is Jayme de Güete. Yet, however he may follow

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[26] See the *Sant' Orsola*, Vol. 2 of D'Ancona, *Sacre Rappresentazioni*.

[27] For some such scenes: D'Ancona, *Origini*, I, 469–70; D'Ancona, *Misteri e sacre rappres.*, in *Giornale Stor.*, XIV, pp. 148–49; Solerti, *Le Origini del Melodramma*, pp. 7–8; Hammes. *Das Zwischenspiel* . . . in *op. cit.*, pp. 50–51 and *passim*. Italian comedy was probably known in Germany as early as 1507. D'Ancona, *Il teatro mantovano* . . . in *Giornale Storico*, VI, p. 23, n. 3.

[28] Rouanet is, therefore, far from stating the facts of the case when he says, "Chez les successeurs directs de Juan del Encina l'on perd toute trace des intermèdes. . . . L'élément comique, dans les oeuvres de Gil Vicente et de Torres Naharro, se mêle à des actions principales assez étendues et, par conséquent, ne relève pas de la farce." *Intermèdes espagnols du XVIIe siècle*, p. 9.

Torres Naharro, he completely misunderstood his master's art. Had he known how to weave his comedy into his plot as so often happens in the *Propaladia*, his development might have been entirely away from the separate scene from which the *entremés* develops.

In the first *jornada* of the *Comedia Tesorina*, the comic scenes between Citeria and her mistress, Lucina, and between Citeria and the foul-mouthed Gilyracho present in their comedy and general aspects many of the elements of the early *entremés*. Moreover, they serve no real purpose in the play unless it be to introduce the characters, hardly a sufficient justification even in view of the undeveloped state of the drama of the time. In the third *jornada*, lines 1106 to 1404, there is an *entremés*, a scene wholly unrelated to the play. Gilyracho, who is the typical *simple*, enters riding a donkey. He tries to take a nap, but a thousand things torment him. He beats about him, exclaiming:

Malhadades,
que moscas tan endiabladas!
o que negras picazones!
o hy de puta, y que piojadas
que siento en estos ancones!

While he is thus engaged, he loses his donkey. Perogrillo enters, and Gilyracho in answer to his question says, "mi negro burro he perdido." "Then you have two?" asks Perogrillo. "No," is the reply.

Pero. Pues esse burro en que vienes
cuyo es? No es de nenguno?

Like the conventional *simple*, he has been looking for that which was not lost.

The scenes that follow this rather long *passo* are crude to an extreme, and the humor lies in the foul language, macaronic Latin, after the manner of Torres Naharro, and a contest in abuse, a common form of comedy in the early Spanish theatre.[39]

In the *Comedia Vidriana*, the structure of which is so loose

[39] Crawford, *Echarse Pullas: A Popular form of Tenzone*, in *Romanic Review*, VI, 150–164. Also Rouanet, *Colección de autos, farsas, etc.*, IV, 171.

that it can scarcely be termed a play, no less than five of the scenes show a lack of relationship to the intrigue. This number of comic-relief scenes in a play is probably equalled or surpassed in only two others, the *Colloquio de Tymbria* of Rueda where five are pointed out, and in the *Farsa Salamantina* of Bartolomé Palau. They are as follows: *jornada* II, lines 604 to 770; *jornada* III, lines 1276 to 1505 (This *entremés* might be entitled *La Caza de piojos!*); *jornada* IV, lines 1965 to 2003, a very short scene of the kind; lines 2063 to 2185; and *jornada* V, lines 2465 to 2705. The first of these introduces a shepherd riding a donkey. Cetina, a servant, enters, and the inevitable quarrel between the two ensues. It is the rough, coarse comedy of the relief-scene. The second is sufficiently described by the title suggested above. The third, a very short scene, is a quarrel between mistress and servant. In the fourth, a chattering and selfish gardener argues with his master, and when after a hot dispute they quarrel, he threatens to leave. In the last, Gil Lanudo in a long monologue imagines himself a soldier, and acts the part much after the manner of the modern small boy playing soldier.[30] It forms a sort of mockery on the *Miles Gloriosus* theme, a parody of the bravado of the soldier, so favorite a figure on the Italian, and indeed the European comedy stage of the sixteenth century. This is the earliest faint trace of the type in the *entremés* for, as has been said, Torres Naharro's *Comedia Soldadesca* does not offer actual passing-scenes. The source of this type has been the subject of much discussion.[31] It is one of the early ones of the Italian theater and the *commedia dell'arte*.[32] The scene in question continues with the entry of

[30] A very similar *motif* is found in a German *Zwischenspiel*, but of later date, where Hans "rühmt sich, mit Schild und Schwert gerüstet seines Mutes. . . ." Hammes, *Das Zwischenspiel . . .* in *Literarhistorische Forschungen*, XLV, p. 64.

[31] For the Italian *miles*, see among others, Caravelli, *Chiacchiere Critiche*, article on *Tradizioni dramm. popolare*, pp. 80–82; D'Ancona, *Origini*, I, 590–91, and note 4, and II, 135; D'Ancona, *Il teatro mantovano . . .* in *Giornale Storico*, VI; Scherillo, *La Commedia dell' arte in Italia, passim;* Fest, *Der Miles Gloriosus, passim.* For French *Fanfarron:* Toldo, *Études sur let hêâtre comique français du moyen âge* in *Studi di filologia romanza*, IX, pp. 277, *et. seq.* For Spain, Crawford, *The Braggart Soldier in the Spanish Drama* in *Rom. Rev.*, II, 1911. See also Rudwin, *Origin of the German Carnival Comedy*, p. 46.

[32] Scherillo, *La Commedia dell'arte in Italia*, p. 96. Fest (*Der Miles Gloriosus*) says, "Die ersten *italienischen* Kapitäne stammen aus dem 15. Jahrh. Literarisch finden wir sie erst etwas später, nämlich zuerst in dem Spanier *Giglio* der *Ingannati* (1531)."

Perucho. A fight ensues, and Gil, worsted, goes off calling for Cetina.

The *Tragedia llamada Josefina* may belong to the first quarter of the sixteenth century.[33] It contains a number of scenes that, while not strictly belonging to the *entremés* as it is found in Spain, are of the general class of separate scenes. At the end of each act, or *parte*, is a chorus of maidens which either sums up the argument of the act, or moralizes on its lesson. It will be noted a little later that this is common in the Jesuit drama. Perhaps the beginnings of a musical form are to be seen in the choruses. The second and third parts are preceded by short prose prologues delivered by the *Faraute* which contain the only, though feeble, attempt at humor in the play. This use of *intermezzi* from act to act to give the argument is found also in Italy.[34] The evident purpose of the speeches of the *Faraute* is to quiet and hold the audience, and to some extent they, therefore, belong to the form under consideration.

The first of these prologues contains an interesting use of the word *passo*. The *Faraute* says, "La segunda parte se sigue. . . . Es en si paso muy dulce y sabroso y gracioso." Since that part to which he refers is the play proper, and in nowise anything that can be construed as a separate scene, it is clear that the author does not use the word in the specialized sense of passing-scene, but rather in that of *passage*, *part*, the ordinary and generalized acceptation to which Timoneda later gave its special significance.

The *Comedia Radiana* of Agustín Ortiz[35] offers two examples. They extend from lines 800 to 879, the closing scene of *jornada* III, and lines 1071 to 1118, the final scene of the succeeding *jornada*. The first is a dialogue between the shepherds Girado and Pinto. They are of the type traditional from the earliest eclogues of Encina, always sleepy, always gluttonous, and given to gaming and fighting. The scene closes with a bit of horse-play in which Girado indulges at the expense of Pinto, and pre-

[33] Cañete, intro. to *Tragedia llamada Josefina*, pp. XIII and XIV. Crawford, *Spanish Drama before Lope de Vega*, p. 61.

[34] D'Ancona, *Il teatro mantovano . . .* in *Giornale Storico*, VI, p. 4.

[35] Published by R. E. House in *Modern Philology*, Vol. VII. Professor House concludes that the play must have been written between 1533 and 1535. *Idem*, p. 509.

pares the next at the close of *jornada* IV where Pinto, with the aid of Juanillo, evens up matters with Girado in the coarsest manner. A similar attempt to relate scenes that are wholly apart from the main intrigue has already been seen in Torres Naharro. Neither of the scenes of the *Comedia Radiana* offers any advance in content over the earliest traces of the form; rather they serve to show how thoroughly the *Propaladia* was misunderstood by its followers and imitators.

In the *Farsa* (or *Tragedia*) *de Lucrecia*,[36] there are certain scenes between *bobo* and mistress not essentially connected with the plot. Such are lines 155 to 174 and 312 to 360. They are interlarded only for humorous effect. The first is exceedingly coarse; the second has to do with the old theme of the gluttony of the *bobo*. Neither offers much of real interest.

The *Auto de Clarindo* was published originally by Antonio Diez[37] from "the works of the Captive." Its date has been placed about 1535.[38] There are three passing-scenes. The first of these comes just before the last scene of the first *jornada*. It opens with a tirade of Antonica against her mistress, and closes with a passage between the two servants. The social satire, and discussion of the servant problem—no special privilege of the twentieth century—are poorly done, and show no advance upon Jayme de Güete or Torres Naharro. The second passing-scene comes a little after the middle of the second *jornada*. It is very short, only a few lines, consisting of a very coarse play between the servants. It recalls the Italian *lazzi*. The third of these scenes closes the second *jornada*. The author has thought to relate it to the plot in that the fathers of the two girls who have been shut up in a convent order Pandulfo, the *bobo*, to visit and take them some food. This the simpleton is crafty enough to appropriate for his own nourishment, soliloquizing as he eats, and closing with a song in which he says that since those for whom the food was intended have delayed so long, "perdido lo tienen."

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[36] *Tragedia de la Castidad de Lucrecia agora nuevamente compuesta en metro por Juan Pastor.* Pub. by Bonilla y San Martín in the *Rev. Hisp.*, XXVII, pp. 437–454. The date of the *Lucrecia* must be fairly early to judge from the fact that the same author wrote an *auto*, published in Sevilla in 1528. *Cf. idem*, p. 394.

[37] Pub. by Bonilla y San Martín, *Obras dramaticas del siglo XVI*, primera serie.

[38] Barrera, *Catálogo*, p. 128.

The second *jornada* of the *Comedia Tidea* of Francisco de las Natas contains a comic-relief scene unmistakably influenced by Encina. It extends from lines 806 to 1045, and bears no real relation to the play.[39]

Menalcas enters dancing and leaping. His first appeal is to the audience:

> Hora andar,
> quierome enuenturar
> (h)a hablar estos señores,
> mas no sé por do empeçar,
> que parescen rugidores.

Such an appeal is common in the prologue of the time, and also, recalls somewhat the opening, or *loa*, scene of the *Égloga en requesta de unos amores* of Encina where Mingo is so perturbed in this case at having to face his patrons, that he says to his companion:

> Yo te juro a San Crimente
> que no sé qué me hacer.

But in the *Comedia Tidea* does the statement mean that the audience had become restless and inattentive, or that the writer was in fear of a wavering of interest with its natural accompaniment of noise and disturbance? If so, an *entremés* at this point would seem all the more justifiable and to be expected.

Damon, who follows Menalcas, tells him of his adventures in the city, and of meeting "a thousand students" who,

> Ellos juntos
> comiençan habrar de puntos,
> cercaronme en derredor;
> yo miralles sin barruntos
> y dezilles: sí, señor.
> Sin me cato,
> dame uno del çapato,
> otro punçar la trasera;
> pelaronme un gran rato
> todos juntos la mollera.

[39] Romera-Navarro, *Observaciones sobre la Comedia Tidea* in *Modern Philol.*, XIX, pp. 187–198. He does not think this scene a *passo* because of a possible, though slight, relationship to the play.

This is, of course, the situation of the *Auto del Repelón*, the clash of town and gown, and in the manner of its presentation very close to Encina.

Badajoz, like Lucas Fernández, often mingles the humorous and the grotesque with the religious element, using them to explain and develop his doctrinal points. Nevertheless, they are not always interwoven as is the case with his predecessor, and some of his scenes belong to the *entremés*. Only in occasional cases, however, do they show the completeness of form found in some of those in the *Farsa Salamantina*. If Badajoz in reality considerably antedates Palau, this is not surprising. It is all the less so when his traditional literary affiliations are considered. In much he is very far away from the school of Rueda in whom centers and culminates the early *entremés*.

The best-developed scene of the kind that he has is in the *Farsa Teologal*. A negress bearing a tankard enters singing a *villancico* on the birth of Christ. It is the common trick of the time, and almost an idiosyncrasy with Badajoz, to attempt to relate these really detached scenes to the plot. After some dialogue, a shepherd seizes the tankard and makes with it a jack-o'-lantern with which he frightens a boasting soldier into a swoon. When the latter recovers consciousness, he calls for a priest, and then says as an aside that he will mend his ways and meanwhile feign toothache "por quitar inconvenientes." This statement about the toothache serves as preparation for the second *entremés*, pages 112 to 115, in which the priest enters with a dentist. The scene between the dentist and his patient, the once boastful soldier, who is frightened half to death, is excellent from the standpoint of humor. The dentist, after ordering a glass of wine for his own, not his patient's stimulation, pulls one wrong tooth—be it remembered that there is really no "right" one for the soldier is only feigning—then another, and is prevented from further depredations only by the intervention of the priest.[40]

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[40] The dentist is common in comedy. In the *scenari* of the *commedia dell'arte*, published by Flaminio Scala in 1611, there is one called *Il Cavadenti*. Its humor is more boisterous and rather less persuasive than Badajoz's. On the whole, the similarity remains only in the subject, and that is too common to permit any question of influence. *Cf.* Scherillo, *La Commedia dell'arte in Italia*, intro., p. X.

The former of these two scenes is the best of Badajoz's contribution to the form, and one of the best before Rueda. It is one of the comparatively few early passing-scenes that offers a definitely, dramatically humorous situation. The great majority depend more upon horse-play and coarseness, sometimes of the lowest sort, than upon a situation that offers a chance for real humor.

In the *Farsa del Colmenero*, there is a scene whose whole purpose is to allow a certain lapse of time before the return of Tamar to the stage. It begins with a soliloquy by a shepherd. Opilio overhears his last words, and thinks that he is talking ill of women. A quarrel ensues, almost childish in its inaneness. A knife-sticking contest follows, and when Tamar at last reappears she thinks they are fighting, and tries to quiet them. This technical use of the *entremés* to allow a lapse of time required in the play has already been discussed. It is one of the most common causes for the introduction of these passages.

The theft of the thirty ducats in the *Farsa Militar* can be considered an *entremés* in spite of certain connection it may have through the part the money plays in the development of the main intrigue, and through certain of the characters. The friar tells a lame man, a one-armed man, and a blind man to take up the ducats from beneath the stone where they are supposed to be hidden—Mundo has really stolen them again—and divide them. The friar then departs. Of course, they do not find them. The blind man thinks that the others have stolen his share, and attacks them bitterly. The *diablo* maliciously hits him on the head. The blind man blames his lame comrade, and they come to blows. The friar re-enters and intervenes. When the lame man again protests vehemently that the ducats were not there, all turn their wrath upon the friar whom they accuse of having deceived them. It will be seen that the whole action turns upon a series of misunderstandings, a situation common enough in the early *entremés*. The devil as a personage in the early *passo* is probably unique here. He never really gained a foothold in the *entremés*, though common enough in other Spanish dramatic literature.

Many of Badajoz's humorous scenes have just enough rela-

tion to the plays to make it incorrect to class them as *entremeses*, and yet are so loosely fastened as to rattle on their hinges! On the other hand, there are true interlude scenes in which minor characters comment and moralize on the action like a chorus. But these, although passing-scenes, have nothing to do with the *entremés* as a form.

In the *Farsa de Isaac*, the scene in which the shepherd fights with Rebecca over the goat she wants to take from his flock to prepare for Jacob has no organic connection with the plot. Moreover, the same shepherd's soliloquy after Rebecca and her son have departed, in which he says some extremely injurious things concerning her conduct and about mothers in general, serves only to permit the lapse of time necessary until the food shall have been made ready for presentation to Isaac.

It is very common for Badajoz, after using his play for serious and doctrinal purposes, to introduce at or near the close a humorous scene that has no connection with the action. In that case, he commonly gives a sort of coda to his play proper by a reversion to the moral tone at the end of the comic scene, usually in the last speech. Such a condition occurs in the *Farsa del Molinero* where he has a blind beggar, his boy, and a friar, the last the butt of some strong sarcasm on mendicant friars, indulged in by the beggar. The *Farsa del rey David* has a rather long separate comic scene between a shepherd and a Portuguese, one of the earliest examples of the latter type. The shepherd enters laden with spoils of the combat between the armies of Israel and the Philistines. He tries to make sport of the Portuguese, offering to share part of the captured arms with him, and fight him. The foreigner at first shows cowardice, but the arms once secured, he attacks the shepherd vigorously much to the latter's terror. The last lines of the shepherd's closing speech go back to the argument of the play. This *entremés* is fairly well developed and is interesting. It forms a possibly unique example of the ridiculed Portuguese turning the tables on his Spanish tormentor. In the *Farsa del Herrero*, a shepherd and a smith make sport of a pilgrim; but Badajoz is a most unmitigated moralizer, and soon returns to his religious theme.

The *Farsa de la Hechicera* has much comic material, often loosely connected, but, as in the case of the plays of Torres Naharro already mentioned, the subject is such that it is not possible to distinguish true passing-scenes from those that really belong to the play.[41]

The so-called *Comedia de Sepúlveda*[42] contains material of importance in a study of the *entremés* in its early years. Dr. Crawford has already called attention to the fact that the prologue contains one of the earliest, if not the earliest use[43] of the word *entremés* as the name of a *genre*. But it contains much more.

The prologue is in the form of a dialogue between two men who are discussing the play. To quote:

Escobar. . . . Pero, por vuestra fe, que me digais, si se os acuerda, el sujeto desta comedia; y, por ventura, ahorrare cinco o seis horas de trabajo por verla.

Becerra. No os puede dar gusto el sujeto ansi desnudo de aquella gracia con que el proceso dél suelen ornar los recitantes y otros muchos entremeses que intervienen por ornamento de la comedia, que no tienen cuerpo en el sujeto della; pero prosupuesto esto, si todavia quereis saberlo, os dire lo que se me acuerda della. . . . Y hay aqui, como digo, mil entremeses graciosos, que van trovados con la obra: que son que el viejo Natera, el que crio a Violante, con un instinto agudo, entendio que la Florencia de Figueroa, page de Alarcon, era mujer e enamorose della; y Parrado, su criado, lo llevo a un charlatan que se hacia magico y hizo mill burlas de su amo;

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[41] When Cotarelo (Nueva B. de A. E., XVII, Tomo I, Vol. I, intro., p. LXI) says, "La *Farsa del matrimonio* (II, I) es un entremés dilatado: todos los personajes son ridículos; y del mismo carácter participan las farsas del *Molinero*, de la *Hechicera* y de la *Ventera*," he is mislead by his definition or rather lack of definition of the word *entremés*. He is still farther astray when of Gil Vicente he says, "La farsa de *O Juiz da Beira* (1525) contiene algunas sentencias graciosas, como las que después aparecen con frequencia en nuestros entremeses." If that is sufficient to make a play an *entremés*, practically the whole collection published by Rouanet must be so classed. Moreover, as regards subject matter, the *Farsa del Molinero* is a Corpus Christi play.

[42] Pub. by Cotarelo in *Rev. esp. de lit., hist. y arte*. It begins with año I, núm. III, and is printed in short installments ending año I, núm. XI.

[43] The play is probably of the year 1547. Cotarelo in his collection (N. B. de A. E., intro., p. XIII) dates it 1580. Internal evidence, including the way in which the word *entremés* is used, seems to refute the later date.

y tambien al magico que tenia una mujer hermosa. En fin, hay mill cosas que no os las sabre decir ni aun son sino para verse en su lugar representadas y, por esto, holgaria que la viesedes."

If now one turns to the play proper, it will be seen that this comedy contains what has already been noted in the *Comedia Calamita* of Torres Naharro, that is to say, a more or less complete subordinate, humorous intrigue included in, but almost wholly separate from the main action.[44] This subordinate series of scenes the author calls *entremeses*, and rightly so for they have all the characteristics of the rising *genre*. The important thing is that by 1547 *these detached scenes were actually and definitely called by the name of the naissant form*. It has hitherto been a well-known fact that Timoneda, in publishing the works of Rueda, so named the detached comedy scenes of the plays. He even gave a table of them. But here, twenty years before the publication of Rueda's work, is an author doing much the same thing. It is another proof of the fact that the form was really existent and to some extent understood before the middle of the century.[45]

The exact length of these scenes as compared to that of the whole play cannot easily be determined because of the broken way in which it was published, but they may roughly be estimated as a third of the whole. They belong entirely to the first three acts. The fourth deals with the main intrigue only.

These "entremeses" are in prose. That is to say, the play as a whole is prose. They are, of course, Italian in tenor since the play is from an Italian source, *Il Viluppo*, and the author

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[44] This play within a play is found elsewhere than in Spain. *Cf.* Hammes, *Das Zwischenspiel* . . . in *op. cit.*, p. 76, and pp. 181–82. In Italy in 1515, an Italian play interlarded between the acts of Plautus' *Miles Gloriosus* has the necromancer (and an anvil chorus!). D'Ancona, *Origini*, II, p. 119. In the German *Zwischenspiel* and the Italian *intermezzo*, it is not uncommon for the subordinate action to parody the main intrigue.

[45] If additional justification to looking upon these detached scenes as the foundations of the *entremés* were needed in addition to that given in the present chapter, it would be found in Rojas, *Viaje entretenido, loa de la comedia:*

> y entre los pasos de veras,
> mezclados otros de risa,
> que porque iban entre medias
> de la farsa, los llamaron
> entremeses de comedias.

has not replaced the comic material with his own as Rueda so often did. The eroticism is less rough and crude than that which is innately Spanish, but more pronounced and subtle. The servant, and indeed most of the characters, have a *finesse* in the delineation that bespeaks their Italian origin. The humor is not so spontaneously boisterous as in plays from true Spanish sources. Like the Italian, it is somewhat more serious. In the main traits, the writer has followed his Italian original, but he has not been a servile copyist, and there is sufficient of the Spanish feeling to make these scenes important from the standpoint of influence on the *entremés*. They would permit an interesting and instructive comparison with similar passing-scenes from the work of Bartolomé Palau. But that belongs rather to a comparison of national characteristics as expressed in literature.

In this comedy of Sepúlveda, some of the scenes he calls *entremeses* have a certain connection with the main plot, at times even a necessary connection. To class them as he does, he seems to feel it sufficient that the whole background of the scene be separate from the main intrigue. A single point of contact is not enough to forbid such a classification. For instance, the fact that Natera tells Parrado, his servant, that Violante is not his daughter is important. Yet the scene as a whole is listed as an *entremés*. It goes to show that the form was not yet completely fixed nor fully understood despite the steps that had been taken in that direction. When Sepúlveda said that an *entremés* was a scene that did not belong to the body of the play proper, he took a long stride in advance, but not a final step.

When the author indicated that in this play the *entremeses* "van trovados con la obra," he seems to point out, at least by implication, that such passages were not always written with the work; that they were already at times composed separately, or perhaps transferred from one play into another. This appears a fair interpretation of his words, and if it is, it proves that already as early as 1547 what has hitherto been clear in literature only from the time of the publication of Rueda was even then taking place: before the middle of the century at

least it was to some extent the custom *to use these scenes interchangeably.*

The *Farsa Salamantina* of Bartolomé Palau[46] is another very important example among the earlier plays for a study of the development of the *entremés.* Professor House has called attention to a number of the comic-relief scenes of which this play contains more than almost any of its predecessors. He inclines to think that they have considerable relationship to the *passos* of Rueda.[47]

The first introduces a Biscayan, Juancho. In a scarcely intelligible jargon, he tells a student and Soriano that, having come from his country to Castile, and finding himself without money, he has exchanged his arbalest for a guitar. He wants to communicate with his family, but cannot do so. The student offers to write his letter for him, and by so doing manages to get a little money from him. It is probably a true picture of one of the resources of indigent students of the time.

The immediately succeeding passage also forms an *entremés.* Anton, who is a typical *bobo,* comes in. He is on an errand for his mother, and to remember his commission he repeats in monotonous refrain:

> Sangre para las morzillas
> y tripas para el quajar.

The student and Soriano ask him whether the pudding his mother makes is good, and whether she will sell them some. To both questions he replies in the affirmative, but meanwhile he has forgotten his refrain. They tell him what it is that he was saying, and while he goes on his way, they proceed to the home of Mencia, Anton's mother. While she is getting ready what they have desired to buy of her, they steal a piece of bacon, but Mencia detects them in the act and raises an outcry. Anton returns to force the student to leave bonnet and cape in payment for the theft.

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[46] The earliest known edition is dated 1552. Whether this is the *editio princeps* is not certain. *Cf.* Morel-Fatio, *Bulletin Hispanique,* II, 239.

[47] R. E. House, *Sources of Bartolomé Palau's Farsa Salamantina,* in *Romanic Review,* IV, 311–322.

As will be seen, this makes, on the whole, an excellent *entremés*, comparable with, if not actually excelling, some of those of the *Deleitoso* and the *Registro de Representantes* of Lope de Rueda.

The opening scenes of *jornadas* two and three are entirely independent of the main action of the play, and form comic interludes. They belong together. The second is simply a continuation of the action of its predecessor. Both are based upon Beltran's passion for Teresa. These scenes form to some extent a burlesque on the courtly idea of love. This is especially true of Beltran's soliloquy, lines 1302 to 1368. Both passages are coarse and vulgar to an extreme. They form an appeal to the baser instincts of the Salamancan students before whom the play was intended to be given.[48]

In *jornada* three, the closing scenes[49] offer another example. The *bachiller* Tripero comes to procure the services of Anton. He arouses Mencia who at first denounces him as a disturber for coming at such an unseemly hour, and then, learning who it is that calls, receives him graciously as an old acquaintance. Mencia recalls the Celestina, and to some extent, Eritea in Encina's *Plácida y Vitoriano*. She promises Tripero that he shall have the assistance of her son, but wants to know what he desires of him, to which Tripero replies:

> No falta
> ado hay fatiga harta
> que han venido por mi en posta.
> Voy, comadre, a sancta Maria
> a conjurar la langosta.

Anton enters:

> Boto a san,
> que parezco sacristan,
> y aun casi (casi) clerizon.

Supposed to assist Tripero with the conjuration, he puts the conjuror's book into the caldron, and the rest of the scene is

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[48] R. E. House, *Romanic Rev.*, IV, 314, has called attention to the striking resemblance between these scenes and certain passages in the *Tesorina*.

[49] Lines 1584–1789.

filled with his stupidity and nonsense. Nevertheless, the whole does not make a bad *entremés*.

In the fourth *jornada*,[50] there is a short scene of the type. Anton is selling sausages. An *alguacil*, under pretext of doing his duty in examining the wares, frightens him by threatening arrest and imprisonment, and takes possession for himself of the whole contents of the basket.

Allied to this scene, much as the scenes in *jornadas* two and three were connected, is the closing passage of the play which forms another *entremés*, and another case in which one occurs at the end of a play. Mencia wants to send Anton on an errand with a basket of sausages, but he is eating and refuses to be disturbed. Finally, however, after a good deal of coaxing and wrangling, he consents, takes the basket, and learns the message he is to repeat on delivering it. But the moment his mother's back is turned, he commences to sample the contents, saying that, if called to account, he will say that a dog ate it. This trick of the *bobo* in appropriating to himself food destined to other purposes has already been noted. The *alguacil* enters, pretends that Mencia's sausages are dirty, and over the united protests of Mencia and Anton, makes off with his booty. Mother and son, fearing still further pursuit from the law, hide.

The last two *entremeses* show a certain attempt at satire over the injustices of public officials. Social satire is to play a considerable part in the *entremés* as it develops. It is a form that in every way lends itself to such subjects.

Of these passing-scenes in the *Farsa Salamantina*, several are exceedingly good examples of the newly developing form, and might well have been written separately as *entremeses*. The change from the crude scenes of an author groping for something without a clear idea of the end to be attained, a condition so painful in the plays of Encina and Jayme de Güete, is striking. It will be but another step to the fixed *genre*.

In the *Obra de El pecador*[51] of Bartolomé Aparicio, whose date Cotarelo conjectured to be about 1530,[52] but which, both

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[50] Lines 1840–1894.

[51] Pub. in Gallardo, *Ensayo*, I, col. 221–244.

[52] Cotarelo, *Estudios de historia literaria*, I, 187, n. 5.

from structural evidence, and what is known of the date of another play by the same author,[53] probably belongs to the middle of the century, if not even later, there is a scene that belongs to the *entremés*. The passage in question follows that of the birth of the Christ Child.[54] Its only possible relation to the play is to have the shepherds on the stage for the Annunciation, and for the purpose a scene of this extent is out of all proportion to the length of the play.

Mateo enters with his flock, prepares his meal, but lies down to sleep before touching it. Pedruelo comes in, spies the food, and eats it while Mateo sleeps. The latter awakens, accuses Pedruelo, who denies the theft, and they come to blows. Clemente comes upon the scene to act as peacemaker. Such is the action. The horse-play is less rough than is usual in such scenes, possibly due to clerical affiliations on the part of the author.

There are two interesting lines when Pedruelo says:

> Antes no es, con perdon,
> hurtar cosas de comer,

in answer to Mateo's statement that he did wrong in appropriating the food. This sentence seems to sum up the peasant feeling and morality in such cases, at least according to the interpretation given them by the writers of the first half of the sixteenth century. Cases of such theft have been cited in the *Égloga ynterlocutoria* and the *Farsa Salamantina* and elsewhere.

The first *jornada* of the *Comedia Florisea* of Francisco de Avendaño[55] has a break for a song at line 1033 after Salauer has said:

> pues estamos
> tan amigos cuemo hermanos,
> comencemos de holgar;
> yo vos diré vn buen cantar;
> asgamos las manos.

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[53] This play is called the *Misterio de la bienaventurada Santa Cecelia*, and dates from 1572. *Cf.* Milá, *Obras completas*, VI, 228 and 360. Creizenach, *Geschichte*, III, 147–48, n. repeats what Milá has said. Barrera, *Catálogo*, 513, mentions an edition of *El Pecador* of 1611. This cannot, however, have been the first. The characteristics and structure of the play, as said above, seem to place it in the period 1550–1570.

[54] The *entremés* is published in Gallardo, I, col. 233–236.

[55] There are editions of 1551 and 1553. Published by Bonilla in *Rev. Hisp.*, Vol. 27.

The song that follows is humorous in character, and seems to be only for relief. Attention has been called to a similar break for the same purpose in the works of Lucas Fernández and Encina, and occurs later in many of the compositions published by Rouanet in the collection generally known by his name. Thus two tendencies, the true *entremés*, and the musical break—that leads in Italy to the musical *intermezzo* and the *melodramma*—run for a time side by side in Spain.

In the second *jornada* of the same play,[56] there is a short scene foreign to the action, though the speeches that precede and follow relate the characters to the plot. This passage, like so many in the early plays, is coarse to the point of lewdness. It consists mainly of the dishonest propositions of the shepherd to the maiden Blancaflor. It recalls somewhat certain of the passing-scenes from the *Farsa Salamantina*. Doubtless the humor was intended to lie particularly in the fact of such a situation between two persons of so widely divergent social positions. It closes with a dance accompanied by a humorous song.

The first scene of *jornada* three[57] offers the best example of *entremés* material in the play. It serves no more purpose than to introduce the allegorical character *Fortuna* who, however, plays an important role in this act. Briefly, the action is as follows: *Fortuna* enters dressed in a manner befitting the allegorical character of the personage. Servants and gentlemen alike are terrified at the apparition. At the instance of Floriseo, the shepherds Salauer and Pedruelo conjure him in what is evidently intended to be humorous terms, whereupon he reveals his identity. The element of producing fright for comic effect in a passing-scene has already been found in the *Farsa Teologal* of Sanchez de Badajoz.

In the works of Sebastián de Horozco, there is perhaps the earliest extant example of an *entremés* entirely separate and apart from a play. This is the *entremés* written "a ruego de una monja parienta suya."[58] For a long time it was thought that this was the first time that the word occurred as the name

[56] Lines 1234–1269.
[57] Lines 1434–1594.

of the literary form, and a number of critics have repeated that statement. As has been seen, this now appears to be inaccurate.

But up to this date, all passing-scenes have been strictly incidental to and included in larger dramatic compositions. This *entremés* of Horozco stands as completely separated from a larger dramatic form as do those of Rueda in the two collections published by Timoneda. The one possible exception, if it is to be considered at all a real example of the form, is the *Auto del Repelón*.

The *entremés* in question is, as regards form and content, of no very special interest. Its attitude is distinctly one of levity, if not of actual mockery of religious things, an attitude on the part of the author that reappears in the *bobo* scene of the *Historia de Ruth*.

The structure of the scene is loose, and there is no distinct dramatic purpose. By turns, the love-passion of the peasant, the beggar at his trade, a new departure in the *entremés*, and one that was to be a fruitful source of material, a dishonest friar, and a bun-seller are depicted with more or less skill.

In the *Representación de la historia evangélica del capítulo nono de Sanct Juan*, Horozco has another *entremés* distinctly so named: "Mientras vuelve el ciego, pasa un entremes entre un procurador y un litigante." A lawyer laments his lack of clients. He describes how he plucks those who fall into his hands, and then abandons them. All is grist that comes to his mill. A client appears, and the lawyer proceeds to apply his system. His greeting is cordial, and he makes use of the Bible to serve his ends:

> Ora sus, nombre de Dios,
> quidquid venerit ad nos
> non eiiciemus foras.

The client gives and gives until at last he exclaims:

> Veis ay otro ducado,
> aunque del comer lo quito.

Whereupon the lawyer, having bled his client to the last ducat, abandons him.

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[51] This, of course, does not mean to say that it is any the less a subordinate form.

This *entremés* is interesting for its material. The lawyer's cold-blooded greed, his carelessness of the ultimate interests of his clients, his effusiveness that borders almost on servility while he is wringing money from his victim, his desire to create litigation for his own profit: all these are well depicted for the time at which the passage was written. In form, it is rather highly developed. This is not strange in view of the advance that had been going on for half a century by the time that Horozco wrote.

In addition to the scenes mentioned, Horozco has a very short one in his *Historia de Ruth* between a majordomo and a laborer, Reventado, that has some of the characteristics of the *entremés.*

When Horozco called the play written "a ruego de una monja parienta suya" an *entremés*, what did he understand by the term? Cotarelo seems to think that he did not really intend to differentiate it from his other plays.[59] In his famous *Memoria*[60] of the festivities held in Toledo in 1555, he says, "Este dia, entre los otros entremeses estropajosos, salio vn sacamuelas con todo su herramental, y vna mujer a quien sacaba la muela, y sentavala en vna silla y descarnavasela con un cuerno, y despues sacava unas tenazas de herrador,[61] y ella dando gritos sacavale un miembro de hombre. . . . A este tenor salieron vn tripero y vna tripera. . . . Ella llevava dos ollas delante en vn seron, y con su garavato sacava de la una tripas y de la otra muchas naturas de hombre."[62] And again, "Delante yva un tamborilero disfrazado en su asno, tañendo muy bien, y luego venian muchos hombres y mugeres muy aldeanos y de camino, con sus sudarios al pescueço y con muchachos delante de si, y algunas de las mugeres con criaturas como que yvan paridas, como aconteçe quando van a las bodas de unas aldeas

[59] "A una le da el nombre, entonces poco común, de *entremés;* a las otras las nombra representaciones." Cotarelo, *El Licenciado Sebastián de Horozco*, p. 34.

[60] *Memoria de las fiestas y alegrias que en Toledo se hizieron por esta razon* (*i. e.*, the conversion of England) . . . in *Rev. Hisp.*, Vol. 31, 1914.

[61] This recalls strongly except for the phallic part *Il Cavadenti*, the scenario published by Flaminio Scala. See note 40 to the present chapter.

[62] *Pub. cit.*, p. 402. These recall the phallic shows and pageants apparently common to all peoples at some time in their history.

a otras, y muchos de ellos traian la redoma para la novia en vnas mançanas puestas en vnos palos, y las mançanas llenas de reales hincados en ellas hechos de lata, y otro llevava vn plato para en que ofrecer, con dinero de la ofrenda, y jugavan de palo quando alguno le metia la mano. Detras venian los padrinos y los novios, besandose de rato en rato, y el cura del lugar con vn gesto y vn bonete harto de notar y de reir, y el alguacil y el alcalde del lugar, todos tan al propio y al natural en todo, que regozijó mucho este entremes, avnque en asnos, porque ymitavan mucho a lo verdadero."[63] These, then, are to Horozco *entremeses*. Juan de Angulo, in his *Flor de las solennes alegrias*[64] describes the latter of those cited from Horozco, but he terms it a *máscara*, and not an *entremés*, which latter word he does not use at all. Horozco also speaks of *máscaras* in his *Memoria*, but to him they mean types, while comic interludes in the pageants are *entremeses*, as has been seen. It is reasonable, therefore, to suppose that, understanding the word in this sense, when he used it for his playlet he thought of a somewhat similar show interlarded in the general festivities of the convent, and actually had in mind a differentiation from that of *representación*. That he went still further and knew of the *entremés* as a play within another has already been seen.

When Juan de Angulo calls *máscaras* what Horozco names *entremeses*, it simply means that this use of the word was not altogether generalized. It is, however, found in the sense that Horozco used it in other writers of nearly the same date. Villalobos defines as follows[65]: "entremeses en nuestra lengua quiere decir nuevos visajes y nuevas invenciones." This might include both the type and the show. If so, Horozco went a step farther in restricting its meaning. The idea of "invention" in connection with the word has already been noted as far back as the *Crónica de D. Álvaro de Luna*.[66]

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[63] *Pub. cit.*, pp. 400–1.

[64] Juan de Angulo, *Flor de las solennes alegrias y fiestas que se hizieron en la imperial ciudad de Toledo por la conuersion del reyno de Ingalaterra. . . . Acabose en el año de MDLV*. Pub. in *Rev. Hisp.*, Vol. 31, 1914. *Cf.*, p. 468.

[65] *Libro intitulado Los Problemas de Villalobos*, Tractado I, metro II, in *B. de A. E.*, Vol. 36, p. 406.

[66] See chapter I, note 43.

It will not do to pass from Horozco's contribution to the form without quoting a few lines valuable for the light they throw on the popular types of the time, a field intimately allied to the *entremés*. In the same *Memoria*,[67] he says: "En este tiempo salieron maxcaras de moros, judios, doctores, medicos, deçeplinantes, salvajes, locos, triperos, melcocheros, buñoleros, cornudos, romeros, diablos, correos, porteros de cofradias, caçadores, hermitaños, negros, negras, portugueses, amazonas, ninfas, cardenales, monjas, biudas, Çelestina con su cuchillada y su canastico de olores, lençeras bizcaynas, reyes, pastores y aun frayles salieron al principio." That is to say, he mentions most of the types adapted to the *entremés* whether by Rueda or his predecessors. While there is certainly reciprocal action both from and to the drama, these types seem, as the relation shows, to have been to no small extent popular in their inception. In comedy, as opposed to tragedy, influence usually flows largely along the underground river of human contact and the fundamental similarities of human nature.

About the time of Horozco, that is to say toward the middle of the century, the use of the word *entremés* for a little secondary playlet became common. It is found in that sense in the *Historia de la gloriosa Santa Orosia*[68] and in the *Crotalon*.[69] By a decree of the synod of Guadix and Baena for the year 1554, *entremeses* in churches were forbidden without previous notice given in order to allow the authorities the opportunity to pass on their fitness.[70] They were in all probability rudimentary examples of the form, unless perchance they belong to the class of those written by Gregorio Silvestre to be mentioned in the next paragraph. It seems likely, however, that they may have been true comic plays, for in 1609 P. Mariana in his *De Spectaculis* mentions *entremeses* given in convents which he censures in the following terms: "los entremeses indecentes y bailes deshonestos

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[67] *Pub. cit.*, pp. 394–95 for the whole passage.

[68] *Cf.* Bonilla y San Martín, *Las Bacantes*, p. 134, n. 1.

[69] Baist in Gröber's *Grundriss*, Vol. 2, pt. 2, p. 464 and note. Also Bonilla, *op. cit.*, p. 87. It is difficult to determine exactly whether it has here its new meaning or belongs still to the old tradition discussed in the first chapter of this study.

[70] Sánchez-Arjona, *El teatro en Sevilla*, p. 10.

que se mezclaban con las representaciones devotas en las iglesias y conventos."[71]

There is in the introduction to the works of Gregorio Silvestre a mention of *entremeses*. The passage is as follows: ". . . escribió muchas *obras espirituales*, asi por ser él aficionado a religion, como por darle ocasion la iglesia mayor, donde era organista; obligándose por solo su gusto cada año a hacer *nueve entremeses* y muchas estancias y chanzonetas: en el cual oficio sucedió al famoso Maestro Pedro Mota complutense, y al Licenciado Jiménez, que hizo el *Hospital de Amor* que imprimió por suyo Luis Hurtado de Toledo;que en esto tambien tuvieron cargo de escribir estos *entremeses* para las fiestas mas celebres de la iglesia mayor."[72] Silvestre lived from 1520 to 1570.[73] His *entremeses*, then, would have been written somewhere near the middle of the century. Since they are spoken of as "obras espirituales," they cannot have been comic interludes. Set figures like the church *entremeses* of the fifteenth century do not seem likely. More probably, especially since Silvestre was a musician, they may have been musical or festal representations. It is not impossible that they had some similarity to the Italian *ricercari*. In any case, they belong to another tradition than the one here under consideration. The word applied to them serves only to show how long and persistently it held to its varied meanings.[74]

The anonymous *Farsa llamada Rosiela* contains two passing-scenes. The first[75] opens with Caniuano endeavoring to arouse his worthless son. The latter is the conventional *bobo*. The master enters. A discussion between him and the *bobo's* father, Caniuano, who is a gardener, over crop and weather conditions can scarcely be called humorous. The comic element is supplied

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[71] Sánchez-Arjona, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

[72] Gallardo, *Ensayo*, IV, col. 619–22. Article 3944.

[73] There are editions of his works of 1592 and 1599 (Gallardo 3945 and 3944). The *vita* appeared in both.

[74] In Valencia in 1531 there was an *entremés de peu*, religious in nature. In 1551, the same representation was called a *misteris de peu*. After 1515, these shows were divorced from the church, but the religious and allegorical character continued. They do not to any degree belong to the tradition from which the Spanish form developed. See Mérimée, *L'Art dramatique à Valencia*, pp. 20 and 30.

[75] Lines 215 to 475.

by the forgetfulness and gluttony of Benito, the *bobo*, who recalls somewhat the shepherds of Encina, but still more Anton, the *bobo* of the *Farsa Salamantina*. The second of these scenes[76] has little point, and as in so many of the early attempts, roughness takes the place of humor. Both scenes, however, continue the already establishing tradition in the new form.

Going back a little in time, it may be noted that improvisation appears in the theater in the *Farsa* of Luis Milán where the actors are given only the indication "dicen que . . .," and fill in according to their fancy. Since 1538, the possible year of the *Farsa*,[77] is also the one in which an Italian company, so far as is known, first visited Spain,[78] one is tempted to ask whether Italian improvisation may not have had an influence on Luis Milán. It appears later in the *entremés*, but never really acclimated itself on Spanish soil.

Already, then, many attempts at the new form, a few conscious as in the case of Horozco, many blindly groping, had been made. An abler hand than any of these was shortly to fix and establish the new *genre*, and that was to be the work of Rueda, the first real *entremesista*.

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[76] Lines 623 to 738.

[77] Mérimée, *L'Art dramatique à Valencia*, p. 89.

[78] Rennert, *Spanish Stage*, p. 21. Stiefel, *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, XV, 320.

III

Timoneda, Rueda, Alonso de la Vega

While it is only as late as 1554 that Rueda is mentioned in extant documents[1] he is then spoken of as already a man of the theatre, representing "un auto de la Sagrada Escritura, muy sentido, con muy regocijados y graciosos entremeses." It is not possible to do more than conjecture how early his career began, but it is more than likely that chronologically his earliest influence, and his writings as a whole, antedate those which are usually attributed to his posthumous editor, Juan de Timoneda. Since, however, the hand of the latter passed upon, and in some sense interpreted, Rueda's work, it is in Timoneda's contribution that must be sought certain backgrounds for an understanding of the contemporary concept of the *entremés* during the period which immediately follows the middle of the century.

It was with the publications of Timoneda that in a real sense began that period of prose in the theatre, and especially in the *entremés*, that was to flicker out only with the contribution of Cervantes and a few of his anonymous contemporaries against whom rose the supreme influence of Benavente in the *entremés*, and Lope de Vega in the comedy in favor of verse. Certainly there had been dramatized prose works numerous enough in the first half of the century, but with an occasional sporadic exception like the *Comedia de Sepúlveda*, they had been imitations of the *Celestina*, and, like it, not intended for representation. Timoneda recognized both the value of that great work for "el estilo comico para leer puesto en prosa," and the fact that its imitations had not been intended for the stage, but, he continues, "considerando yo esto quise hazer comedias en prosa, de tal manera que fuessen breues y representables."[2]

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[1] Cotarelo, *Estudios de historia literaria*, I, 207; and Rennert, *Spanish Stage*, p. 587.

[2] Juan de Timoneda, *Obras completas*, I, p. 9.

Here then, in a contemporary is a clear realization of the part the *Celestina* played in producing that prose period of which mention has been made. Among the causes for the change from verse, Menéndez y Pelayo has seen also the triumph of Italian comedy in Spain.[3] There is, perhaps, especially for the *entremés*, also another reason more indigenous than either of these which will be discussed in its more appropriate place under the work of Rueda.

Timoneda's contribution to the *entremés* is that of editor, not that of an author. Of the non-religious works published under his name, he claims the original composition of the *Comedia Cornelia* alone.

Timoneda, both as collector and editor, uses the word *entremés* but three times: once, as synonymous with *passo*, in the heading to the collection known as the *Turiana;* a second time as title to the first composition in that collection; the third, in his sonnet introductory to *El Deleitoso* where *passo* and *entremés* are again synonymous. His favorite word is *passo*. During the earlier decades of the century, this word appears in two main senses. It is applied to a short religious play, possibly somewhat like an eclogue or an *auto sacramental.* For instance, to a collection printed in 1520 there is the title *Tres pasos de la Pasión y una Égloga de la Resurrección*,[4] and the colophon reads *Aquí se acaban tres muy deuotos pasos de la passión y vna Égloga dela Resureción.*[4] In the second place, it means simply passage, as when Carvajal speaks of a "passo de la sagrada hystoria"[5]; or Bartolomé Palau "ay en ella muy graciosos y notables passos."[6] But in no case before Timoneda does it appear as strictly synonymous with *entremés*. Where to his time a name had been given to the new form, it was always *entremés* and not *passo*.[7] As has been said, Timoneda used the two words to apply equally to the new *genre*. In the *Turiana*, there is no material difference between the first playlet which

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[3] *Estudio preliminar* to the *Propaladia* in *Libros de Antaño*, X, p. CL. On the influence of the *Celestina*, see also Wolf, *Studien*, pp. 285–86.

[4] Cotarelo, *El primer auto sacramental* in *Rev. de Arch.*, Vol. 17, p. 253.

[5] *Josefina.* And see Creizenach, *Geschichte*, III, 145 and note.

[6] *Farsa llamada custodia del hombre. Cf.* Gallardo, *Ensayo*, IV, col. 1401–02. No. 4483.

[7] See preceding chapter.

he terms an *entremés*, and the following three which he calls *passos*, except for the third, perhaps, which is "para la noche de nauidad,"[8] and may hark back to the application of *passo* to religious plays. In addition, Timoneda uses the word in the old and common sense of passage when he says of his *Amphitrion*, "contiene muy altas sentencias y graciosos passos."

It is to be noted, therefore, that in the use of the words to name the form, Timoneda's contribution is exactly the opposite of that usually attributed to him. He is far from being the first to use the name *entremés*.[9] His use of that word is, on the whole, without particular significance. So far as the form is concerned, what he does do is to apply the term *passo* to what was already beginning to be known as the *entremés*. Whether this is his own individual contribution, or due to the influence of Rueda, who may have used it for his examples of the form, it is not possible to say, since the latter's work has come down only through the hands of Timoneda, who quite conceivably wrote the title-pages and headings. It is certain, however, that except for Timoneda (and Rueda?) the word *passo* was but little used to designate the form until comparatively late times,[10] when those writing of the sixteenth century drama, influenced by Timoneda's synonyms, use the two indiscriminately. From the strictly historical standpoint, *passo* for *entremés* is little more than a temporary phenomenon due to the influence of a single writer.[11]

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[8] Timoneda, *Obras completas*, I, p. 177.

[9] Fitzmaurice-Kelly (*Littérature espagnole*, p. 181) lists Andres del Prado as one of those who used the term *entremés* prior to Timoneda.

[10] It does, however, occasionally occur in the period that follows, as, for example, in a letter of Antonio Pérez cited by Cotarelo (*Obras de Lope de Rueda*, I, intro., p. XXVI n. See also *B. de A. E.*, I, 548) where *passo* may be synonymous with *entremés*, and not simply in the sense of passage. The uncertainty in interpretation lies in that it is not known whether Ganassa wrote *entremeses*, or whether the writer means only to indicate humorous passages from the works of both men, passages that might or might not be *entremeses*.

Even when Rojas in his *Viaje* says:

> y entre los pasos de veras,
> mezclados otros de risa,

he uses it in the sense of passage, and not in its technical meaning, for he goes on to explain that these other (passages) "de risa" were called *entremeses*.

[11] When Crawford (*Rom. Rev.*, XI, p. 80) says the *Comedia de Sepúlveda* has "one of the earliest recorded uses of the term *entremés* as synonymous with passo," if he means that they were *then* synonymous, he anticipates the use of the word *passo*. As has been shown, the use o *entremés* precedes.

But the word *passo*, a passage, and then for a brief time the name of the nascent form, does serve to show unmistakably whence the *genre* comes. *Entremés*, too, has been seen in the same application in the *Comedia de Sepúlveda*. The form was at first a passage, disconnected or separable from the play, and in this sense it was at first understood.

The five *entremeses* of the *Turiana*, all anonymous, were intended "para principio de farças y comedias." This was certainly not the most ordinary place, as has been seen. It serves to add emphasis to the still fluid conditions that surrounded the new *genre*. It might be natural to think that Timoneda thought of them as *introitos* but for the fact that his first collection offers three examples of the latter, all essentially different from the *passos*, though both contain in germ a slight dramatic action. The *introito*, however, contains also the argument to a play; the *entremés* can be attached to any larger dramatic form: it is wholly complete and independent in itself, though intended as a subordinate form. It is more than probable that Timoneda thought of these short, and in four cases out of five comic, playlets as curtain-raisers to the main comedy, offering a means of winning the good will of the audience in advance. This, of course, is one of the main purposes of the form as a whole. Its position with regard to the main play was extremely elastic even as late as the time of Calderón.

The *passos* themselves offer certain points of interest. They are all in verse. Either the influence of Rueda was not far-reaching enough, or what seems more likely, they form an independent, and sporadic attempt. Two, numbers three and five, are intended as Christmas plays, and the latter of these is allegorical. While this is not the only case in which allegory entered the *entremés*, this *Passo de la razón y la fama* is in nearly everything an exception to the traditions of the form. It is serious in tone, and the whole spirit is religious. It might, in fact, much more suitably be classed as a true Christmas play. It can certainly have had no effect on the *entremés*, and if Timoneda's classification is to be at all accepted, it must be only upon the ground that this play was intended, like the others of the collection, as a curtain-raiser for a larger form.

The *Passo de dos ciegos y vn moço* does not differ essentially from the other three comic *passos* except for the fact that its use as a Christmas play is clear. Martin, the blind man, says:

> Mandadme rezar, pues qu'es
> noche santa,
> la oracion segun se canta
> del nacimiento de Christo.[12]

The action is briefly this: one blind beggar tells another that for safety he keeps his money in his cap. The *mozo* of the former steals the cap, and the blind men come to blows when the one accuses the other of the theft.

Certain features of this plot find analogues in the French farces *Le Garçon et l'aveugle* (1277); *Un Aveugle, son valet et une tripière*, ca. 1450; and most of all in *L'Aveugle et son valet Tort*, of 1512, by François Briand,[13] but these can scarcely be regarded as even remote sources for a story that, on the whole, belongs rather to folk-lore.[14] In *entremés* literature, a very similar *motif* has been pointed out in the theft of the thirty ducats in the *Farsa Militar*.

The first *passo* in the *Turiana* is likewise a quarrel between two beggars, one of whom is blind.[15] A dispute between two clerics forms the subject of the second *passo*. Ioan, the attendant of the parish priest, recalls in certain characteristics the braggart soldier, treated in burlesque fashion. The plea for silence at the close, and the speaker's statement that "he is leaving the stage (yo me voy) because the play is about to begin," show that this playlet was intended for use as a prologue. It does not, however, contain a summary of the plot. The editor of the *Turiana* states in his rubric that the *passos* included in that volume were intended to introduce plays, but this one alone contains evidence to prove that statement.

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[12] Timoneda, *Obras completas*, I, p. 181. Creizenach, therefore, is wrong when he says, "wiewohl sich keine Beziehung auf das Fest darin findet." *Geschichte*, III, 179. See also *idem*, second edition (ed. Adalbert Hämel), III, 90.

[13] *Jahrbuch für romanische und englische Literatur*, VI, 163; Le Roux, I, 12 and Mabille, I, 80. For the last-mentioned, see Beneke, *Das Repertoire, und die Quellen der französischen Farce*, pp. 18–19.

[14] Toldo, *Études sur le théâtre comique français du moyen âge*, in *Studj di filologia romanza*, IX, p. 235. To see how one such story passed from happening to theater, see Beneke, *op. cit.*, p. 88 and also p. 83.

[15] The fight between two of the same profession is found in the passing scene of the criers in Jean Bodel's *Jeu de saint Nicolas*.

Passo four describes a trick played by a soldier on a Moor. The situation is after the manner of *passo quinto*, commonly called the *Tierra de Jauja*, of the *Delcitoso* of Rueda, but much less skilfully handled. In both, thievish-minded personages accomplish their purpose by turning the dupe's mind from his wares.

In addition to the five separate *entremeses* of the *Turiana*, the plays published by Timoneda contain many detached scenes. A large majority of them are short, and do not show the development that might be expected for that date. Not a few are brief *boberías* of a comic character, much like those already noted in Jayme de Güete, and rather similar to what *lazzi* might have been had they been written out. Others have a tenuous connection with the plot, and show the early traces of the movement that culminates in the *gracioso* with his humorous, but integral, part in the play. This latter movement, of course, leads away from the *entremés*.

A few detached, or practically detached scenes, however, merit some attention. The best of the sort in the *Paliana* is that in which the devil advises Juan to commit suicide. The latter finds both cutting his throat and hanging too painful. He prefers to "comer la muerte," and makes an attack on the preserves in the cupboard at which he is caught by Belisena, the maid.[16] The scene near the close of the play in which the Portuguese makes love to Belisena, is hidden by her in a mat, and the mat is then beaten by Juan at her orders to the routing of the intruder, is also a good passing-scene.[17] It shows considerable analogy to the *Entremés de las esteras*, often attributed to Rueda. In the *Aurelia*, the second, third, and fourth *jornadas* have a very slight relation to the action in that Aurelia is taking charge of the home while Saluzio, her brother, is away, and that there are heard from time to time noises of ghosts, as he had told her would be the case. But neither of these points is in the slightest degree necessary to the action. These three *jornadas* really form a series of passing-scenes to allow a necessary lapse

[16] Timoneda, *Obras completas*, I, 292–295.
[17] *Idem.*, pp. 300–303.

of time. Some of the scenes they contain are good *entremeses*. In *jornada* two, the contest between the Portuguese, Biscayan, Frenchman, and soldier forms a completely separable passage.[18] The gardener scene of *jornada* three[19] recalls somewhat that mentioned in the *Comedia Aquilana*. The scenes in which the gypsies and *bobo* take part in *jornada* four are both separable.[20] Scenes in which gypsies take part have already been found several times in the *entremés*. The *Rosalina* has certain *entremeses de lacayos* in imitation of similar ones in the plays of Torres Naharro, but which offer little that is new. There is, however, one good passing-scene[21] in which the chief actor is an amorous, boastful Portuguese who, according to his servant "with his words slew more Moors than were present" in the fight at Tunis. When he protests his love in the warmest terms, exclaiming "me quemo en biua llama," the servant Marisancha extinguishes it and him by pouring a pail of water on him, and when he weeps over that "dishonor," excuses herself to her mistress by asserting that he has spoken ill of the latter.

In the *Cornelia*, the scenes in which Mencia tells Cornalla, her husband, that Fulvio is in love with her, has him wear her clothes to a tryst she claims to have with Fulvio, and then gets the latter to give him a thrashing, form a well-developed series of passing-scenes with only a shadow of relation to the plot. The quality of the humor and general tenor of the story seem more Italian than Spanish.[22] Finally, the first scene of the *Castillo de Emmaus* is entirely separate from the play, as is indicated by the word "fin" at the close of the passage. It forms a *passo* to begin a play.[23]

The chief interest in these scenes as a whole lies in the fact that, even to the time at which Timoneda was publishing his famous collection, the *entremés* had not yet become a completely free and independent form, though long steps had been taken toward its detachment from the play.

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[18] *Idem.*, pp. 333–338.
[19] *Idem.*, pp. 344–351.
[20] *Idem.*, pp. 354–358 and 358–365.
[21] *Idem.*, pp. 463–467.
[22] For questions concerning the plays of Timoneda, see Mérimée, *L' Art dramatique à Valencia*, and Crawford, *Spanish Drama before Lope de Vega*.
[23] Mérimée, *L'Art dramatique à Valencia*, p. 198.

The *entremeses* of Timoneda's collections are, except for those of the *Cornelia*, in verse; those of Rueda are prose, and it is in his work that must be sought the chief backgrounds of that movement to prose already mentioned. Both Italian comedy and the *Celestina* influenced Rueda's manner of composition, but these did not constitute the sole, nor necessarily the supreme influence. Neither can his use of prose be attributed to inability on his part to handle metre, for the contrary is proved both by his own extant verse, and by the testimony of Cervantes.[24]

It must be remembered that he was a professional actor and manager of the earliest known theatrical troupe in Spain; not primarily a man of letters. His task it was to meet day by day the almost impossibly difficult situations that faced the strolling company, situations sometimes laughable, often actually dangerous, as Rojas has described them.[25] Rueda's *entremeses* show many traces of hasty composition. In not a few cases they probably were improvised to meet a sudden emergency, and committed to paper only after their success had been tested before an audience. Timoneda's revisions make it still more difficult to make even a conjecture regarding their original form. Cotarelo's statement that Timoneda's corrections were neither numerous nor important is by no means convincing.[26]

But poetry is not the language of haste, nor of the extempore player, and when the life and backgrounds of Rueda are considered, prose becomes not the unusual, but the thing naturally to be expected, a necessary growth for reasons indigenous in the situation of the *entremés* in Spain. That it continues to be for a time the distinguishing feature of the form, may be ascribed on the one hand to a continuance of the same conditions, and on the other to the influence that Rueda himself exerted for decades to come.

In the years 1567 and 1570 respectively, Timoneda published

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[24] Cervantes, *Comedias y entremeses*, I, p. 5, *ed.* Schevill y Bonilla.

[25] For one such laughable and dangerous situation, see Rojas, *Viaje entretenido*, I, pp. 122–23, *ed.* Cañete.

[26] Rueda, *Obras*, prólogo, pp. XXXII–XXXIII. Also *idem.*, I, p. 5 and p. 159. For the opposite view to Cotarelo's, see Stiefel in the *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, XV, p. 337.

the separate *passos* of Lope de Rueda in two collections known as *El Deleitoso* and *El Registro de Representantes*. The former contains seven plays, all ascribed to Rueda; the latter is made up of six "pasos de Lope de Rueda, y otros diuersos autores," according to the statement of the title page. There is no reason to doubt the word of the editor that the fourth, fifth, and sixth, which bear the name of Rueda, are his, and that the others are from other hands, although internally there is only the weakness of the latter to differentiate them. On the other hand, there is little except for the verse in the one case and prose in the other to distinguish the *passos* of the *Turiana* from those of the Rueda collections.[27]

The plays of the *Deleitoso*, in contradistinction to the *Turiana*, were intended, according to Timoneda, both for the beginnings and "entremedias" of comedies. The rubric to the *Registro* says nothing of their position. Considering the dates of these publications, this may have some significance. The *Turiana* is of 1564. By 1567, Timoneda revises his statement that puts *passos* only in the place of curtain-raisers. By 1570, their use was probably well enough fixed and understood to need no statement at all. This was possibly due in part to the diffusion given to the *genre* by the two preceding books. Moreover, the *Turiana* contains Christmas plays, though comic, and one serious, allegorical composition, which both in form and material could but poorly fit in during the play proper. The Rueda *passos*, on the other hand, are wholly comic and unattached. Some seem intended to begin plays, but the distinction is extremely slight. In the introductory verse to the *Registro*, Timoneda recognizes a change:

> Aqui van registrados con mi pluma
> los pasos *mas modernos* y graciosos.[28]

There had, therefore, been within the mind and purpose of Timoneda, and probably of his contemporaries, a change in regard to the *entremés*. The *genre* was slowly evolving.

It is worthy of attention that, while in the *epístolas* that head

[27] See Mérimée, *L'Art dramatique à Valencia*, p. 158.
[28] Rueda, *Obras*, II, 144.

the *comedias* and *colloquios* Timoneda addresses himself to the "prudente y amado lector" or to the "sapientisimo lector," in both the *Deleitoso* and the *Registro* he turns to the actors themselves:

> Representantes habiles, discretos,
> pues sois en l'arte comico famoso[29]
> espejo, ejemplo, aviso provechoso
> de sabios, avisados, y discretos,[30]
> Con animos sinceros y quietos
> venid alegremente al Deleitoso,
> hallarlo heis repleto y caudaloso
> de pasos y entremeses muy facetos.[31]

And more clearly in the *Registro:*

> De aqui el representante que presuma
> hazer que sus colloquios sean gustosos,
> puede tomar lo que le conuiniere,
> y el passo que mejor hazer supiere.[32]

The two collections were, therefore, destined directly for the actor-manager in need of material to support his plays rather than for a reading public. The *Tabla* of *passos* had also the same purpose. Altogether they form a sort of vademecum for the *autor* as the very name *Registro de representantes* also indicates. This is significant: it means on the one hand that the reading public could have been but little used to the form, and most of all it goes to show how far the *entremés* was from being considered worthy of consideration as a literary *genre.*

Two principal personages of the first two *passos* of the *Deleitoso* have the same names in each. Otherwise, the playlets have no internal relation. It is possible that both were originally used in the same play. They are the least finished of any of the two collections, and show much evidence of hasty composition. Especially is this true of the first one. It is scarcely more developed than one might expect to find an extempore sketch based

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[29] In the academy edition: *pues sois en larte comico famoso.*

[30] In the academy edition, there is a period here. The sense requires the comma. The same edition has *indiscretos,* an evident error.

[31] Rueda, *Obras,* II, 144.

[32] *Idem.,* II, 226.

on a given situation and hastily jotted down after the performance. *Paso segundo* is a ghost-trick played by master on servant. How close these scenes are to the audience, and how dependent on a full comprehension of the action on the part of the public is to be seen in the soliloquy of the master in which he describes for the benefit of his auditors what he is about to do, and how the trick is to be played. This is a device to make intelligible the situation for the sake of the audience that recurs frequently in the *entremeses* of Rueda. Generally the opening speech also is in some sense an explanation or a preparation, though in no sense a prologue which is seldom found in the *entremés*. In the two *passos* in question, and in the last of the *Deleitoso*, however, this rule of an opening speech for explanation is broken, and the dialogue is entered upon directly.

The third of the *Deleitoso* is the most Italianate of all those of Rueda, and the only one for which some direct Italian source might be expected to be found. A student is in love with the wife of a *simple*. The wife makes her husband believe and do the most impossible things, he remaining always blind to her perfidy. The action of *passo* four is very slight. A *licenciado* invites a traveller to take supper with him. But he has no money to pay for the meal, and when he tries to escape fulfillment of the duty of host he is exposed before his intended guest by a friend who had promised to help him out of the difficulty.

Passos five and seven are the best of the *Deleitoso*. The former is the one known as the *Tierra de Jauja*. The action is slight: two hungry thieves tell a *simple* of a certain land whose rivers are milk and honey, and when he becomes absorbed in the contemplation of food without labor, they make off with the dinner he was carrying to his imprisoned wife. In this simple setting, Rueda has developed an excellent character-study. There are the hungry thieves who spy out their prey; the *simple* who enters thoughtlessly singing, one of the few cases in which music appears in the *passos* of Rueda. Against the darker background of the thieves, the character of Mendrugo stands out sharply. He is not the conventional, asinine, meaningless *bobo*, the stock comic personage of the early sixteenth century

plays. Rueda has made him untutored, lazy, eternally hungry, easily duped, all well-known characteristics of the type, but with it all a real person, and not an impossible idiot. In so doing, Rueda made more than a passing contribution. With him the *entremés* begins truly to take its place as more than a conventional round of rough language and coarse action. Here is true dramatic interpretation of character, and with that interpretation the *entremés*, or any form, begins to assume a literary aspect. From its closing sentence, this *passo* seems to have been intended for the commencement of a play.

Passo seven is usually known as *Las Aceitunas*. It is the finest piece of satire from the pen of Rueda, and one of the very best *entremeses* ever written. Toruvio, who, although called in the list of personages a *simple viejo*, is neither more nor less than a peasant of the small-land-holding class, beats violently for admission to his house as he returns, storm-driven, from labor. His daughter admits him. The wife is away gossiping. When she returns, summoned by the daughter, he demands his meal, and a scurry ensues to get him supper and comforts after his wetting. He tells his wife that he has planted some olive-saplings as she desired. They begin to wrangle and quarrel over the price at which the olives are to be sold, pulling and tearing at the daughter, each demanding that she observe that this price or that is the correct and proper one, and that she is to accept no other. For the sake of peace, a neighbor offers to buy whatever olives they have to sell, but to his amazement learns that the quarrel has been over fruit not due for many a year.

The story of "counting one's chickens before they are hatched" is found in all literatures, but rarely has it been treated with more skill than Rueda shows. The characters are intensely real and living; the situations are vividly human. There breathes in it life in its most every-day and yet most universal manifestations. In a word, this is the high point of Rueda, and perhaps also of the drama before Lope de Vega from the standpoint of human interest and character portrayal. In this *passo* also, the last line seems to indicate its purpose as a curtain-raiser.

Passo sexto is far from the same caliber. A *simple*, sent by his master to pay a debt, is deceived, and the money taken from him by a thief. The most noteworthy thing is that the *simple* evens matters up by giving the robber a good thrashing when he reappears. Poetic justice for the *bobo* is a rarity in the early *entremés;* he is generally merely a target. The passage in which Cebadon, the *simple*, gives directions how to find a certain house[33] is very close in spirit to similar directions of Launcelot Gobbo in the *Merchant of Venice*,[34] and furnishes a certain interest as an analogue in comic material. If Launcelot and the *simple* of the *entremés* are not brothers, they are at least first cousins.

Passo cuarto of the *Registro*, which turns upon the capture of a thieving lackey by the officer of justice, is of no special interest. In the next, a servant, piqued at the aspersions cast upon his honor, boasts his valor, and derides the other lackey in his absence. But when the latter appears, the boaster becomes an arrant coward, and is easily forced to do the most humiliating things, even to the point of submitting to a thrashing at the hands of his own mistress. In the character of Sebastiana, the woman, Rueda's skill in the interpretation of human qualities is again shown. She is the true *mundana* who urges her follower into a situation he cannot meet, and then delights in his discomfiture. Once more the central feature of Rueda's work, vividness in portrayal, appears. Although his character-study lacks the profundity of the master in the larger sense, it at least shows a talent of no mean proportions, yet the very shortness of these compositions allows for only a flash rather than a sustained effort of which, quite likely, Rueda would have been incapable in any case.

In the last *passo* of the collection, a master accuses several servants of the theft of some food, and chastises them for it, only to discover a moment later that he had himself put it away. As a recompense for the penalty suffered, he gives it to them to divide, and they retaliate by bombarding him with it. Again

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[33] Rueda, *Obras*, II, p. 206.

[34] *Merchant of Venice*, Act II, Scene 2.

Rueda shows his love for poetic justice. The situation is not without cleverness, and the dialogue, as is usual with Rueda, is lively, but there is not any greater depth.

The first three *passos* of the *Registro*, as has been said, are not ascribed to Rueda, and one may be glad that they do not have to be written after his name. Cotarelo, probably because of the dialogue, has thought that the first may possibly be his.[35] This is more than doubtful. The energy, the life of Rueda are lacking. The humor is coarse and crude, and while satire of the medical profession is attempted, character-study is almost nil. The second of these three is interesting for the material it offers for a study of thieves' slang. As an *entremés*, it is poor. The action is weak. Narration takes the place of movement to a considerable extent. All unity of purpose is lost, a thing that never happens with Rueda. The third *passo* has flashes of real humor, but again the characters offer nothing of interest, and that unity about a given point on which these little playlets depend so much for their appeal is none too well maintained.

In addition to the ten compositions already discussed, Rueda's editor lists fourteen "passages that can be taken from the present comedies and colloquies, and put in other works,"[36] that is to say, so many *entremeses*.[37] Two of these include in their entirety the second and seventh scenes of the *Comedia Eufemia*. The first has to do with the cowardice of two lackeys. The second deals with the love affairs of servants. It has a semblance of relationship to the play, but this is not integral, and it has therefore been classed by Timoneda as a detachable scene. The same play also contains two passing-scenes of less importance, and not listed in the table of detachable scenes. Both are in scene one. The first is a master and servant passage.[38] The second stages a typical quarrel, and the harrying of the *simple*.[39]

The single *passo* in the *Comedia Armelina* occurs in the second

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[35] Rueda, *Obras*, II, 227 n.

[36] Rueda, *Obras*, II, 137–38.

[37] Ford, *Main Currents of Spanish Literature*, p. 115, speaks of the *colloquios* as "longish *pasos*." As a whole they certainly do not belong to the form, though,as will be seen, they contain many scenes that do.

[38] Rueda, *Obras*, II, 9–15.

[39] Rueda, *Obras*, II, 16–23.

scene. It contains the familiar features of the servant play. The fifth scene of *Los Engañados* is similarly classified as detachable, although its last lines bear a slight relation to the plot. Here the master merely serves as a foil for the wit of the lackey. It is very common for Rueda to make this use of the personage playing opposite the chief comic character. The humor of the scene, however, is forced, and shows the author very far from his best. Two other short scenes have all the characteristics of early *entremeses*. The first is a conventional master and servant scene[40]; the second is between a *simple* and an innkeeper.[41] Neither offers anything worthy of note.

While the table points out three *entremeses* in the *Medora*, this is but part of its contribution to the form as the *introito*[42] indicates: "sobre esto verán, señores, graciosísimas marañas, y de que suerte descubre la gitana cuyo hijo es Medoro, *dejando aparte* los amores de Acario con Estela y los de Barbarina con Casandro, y las astucias de Gargullo, lacayo, y las necedades de Ortega, simple. *Porque todas estas cosas son parte de la comedia para hacella más graciosa y servir a vuesas mercedes como todos deseamos.*" This statement recalls strongly the one cited from the prologue to the *Comedia de Sepúlveda*, though the wording is different. Rueda says these scenes are "part of the comedy" for the specific purpose of amusement. It is another way of saying "que no tienen cuerpo en el sujeto dél."

As in Sepúlveda's comedy, there is here a series of scenes that form a sub-plot, and that Rueda recognizes as passing-scenes. Stiefel has pointed out that scene five is entirely original with Rueda, and might be used as a *passo*.[43] In fact, it is a good one, and it is hard to see why Timoneda did not list it in his table. His reason for omitting the greater part of the other unlisted scenes is, on the other hand, fairly obvious. They are usually either short or weak. This statement, then, makes it once more clear that the background of the *entremés* is the disconnected scene or the comic sub-plot. With this recognition

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[40] Rueda, *Obras*, II, 165–169.
[41] Rueda, *Obras*, II, 216–219.
[42] *Idem.*, I, 242.
[43] Stiefel, *Lope de Rueda . . .* in *Zeitschrift für romanische Philol.*, XV, 331.

on the part of Rueda culminates the long list of evidence that began with Encina. The separate scene continues for a time, but its main work has been accomplished with the growth from it of the new form called the *entremés*.

The whole *Medora*, as has been pointed out, is more nearly a series of *entremeses* than a play in any proper sense.[44] Taken individually, they are of no special interest, and add little to the contribution of the author. In the plays that bear his name, the passing-scenes at least are usually the work of Rueda himself, but in the *Medora* most of them, and the gypsy scene which is the best of all, come from the Italian original.[45]

The two *passos* in the *Colloquio de Camila* form parts of one whole. This relationship of such scenes has already been noted many times. Their content is that of the domestic quarrel, already found so well done in *Las Aceitunas*. The treatment of the domestic relations of the lower classes is where Rueda's contribution rises to its highest point. He is a keen and critical observer as well as a humorist, not dependent like his predecessors upon horse-play and coarseness to support his observation, at least when he is at his best, and he naturally turns to that situation in life that at all times has offered the humorist the most fertile source of material. In the *passos*, Rueda's insight is most at home among the lowly he knew so well from experience. He wisely stays there. Their home life, with its banal situations, it crudities, and its commonplaces, all comic to the humorist, is full of the material most useful for popular comedy, and this Rueda has seized upon and put to good account.

The passage between husband and wife that occurs near the close of the play is a passing-scene to allow a necessary lapse of time, but so constructed as not to be usable in another play.

Like the *Medora*, the *Colloquio de Tymbria* is more important for its *entremeses* than as a play. The table points out five. In addition to these, the opening passages between Tymbria, Sulco, and Leno,[46] after the first soliloquy by the last-mentioned, really form an *entremés de bobo* except for a few lines near the

[44] Stiefel, *pub. cit.*, XV, 336.
[45] Stiefel, *pub. cit.*, XV, 328. See also p. 184.
[46] Rueda, *Obras*, II, 78–87.

middle that relate to the play. The *passos* named in the table are all of the *bobo* type except the second. The humor is by no means always spontaneous. In the first, a cake is mentioned that later has a relation, somewhat unimportant, to the play proper. The second introduces a negress, and is broken near the middle by a *canción*. It is perhaps the cleanest-cut of all. The last three have all a slight thread of connection, and are interrupted only briefly by the play itself. They deal with the *simple* who forgets his name, and who pretends to be a "ratón de las Indias."

At the close of the second *jornada* of the *Comedia llamada discordia y question de amor*, the scene between the *bobo* and *amor*[47] is like an *entremés*, and is introduced only for comic effect.

In this connection, it may be noted that at least as early as 1554 the *entremés* was definitely distinguished as a form. Attention was called in the first paragraph of the present chapter to a record concerning Rueda in which he was spoken of as playing an *auto* "con muy regocijados y graciosos *entremeses*." Beside being the first mention of Rueda, this is the first known record of the word *entremés*, applied undoubtedly to the form, appearing in what is really a non-literary document. This fact has its importance. It shows that by 1554 the *entremés* was neither so new nor so unusual as not to be understood. Just what the *entremeses* of which the document speaks may have been, whether passing-scenes of the sort examined in Chapter II and under the works of Rueda, or separate playlets, cannot be determined, but the distinction is not material. The important point is that the *entremés*, under the leadership of Rueda, was known and played as such at least about the middle of the century. That, however, they were not known to the *reading* public from the *literary* standpoint even as late as 1567 has been seen in the course of this chapter.

The *Farsa del Sordo*, published not later than 1568,[48] has often been attributed to Rueda, and was published with his works in both the Fuensanta and Academy editions. Fitz-

[47] Rueda, *Obras*, II, 340–343.

[48] *Idem.*, I, intro., p. XCVIII n. Gallardo, *Ensayo*, No. 1189.

maurice-Kelly is entirely right in saying that it "is almost certainly by another hand."[49] There is not a trace of Rueda on the play. On the other hand, the influence of Encina is unmistakable. It is, with the exception of a few passages, little more than a series of passing-scenes. Following the shepherd's *introito*, comes a monologue of coarse character by a maid-servant. Bartolomé, the *inocente*, enters, and a dialogue which recalls somewhat the *requesta de amores* theme from the servants' viewpoint, follows, closing with a song and dance. It is a wholly detached passage, *entremés* in character. With the entrance of a deaf man, comes another such passage, though in its course mention is made of what may possibly be called the plot of the play. A gallant and a page question him. He answers with nonsense. Both, angered at his stupidity, attack him, and he thereupon acknowledges having been able to hear all that they said. As a whole, it makes a fair passing-scene. The one which follows is also like an *entremés*, though with little point. It is made up mainly of the foolishness of the *bobo* and the deaf man.

The play scarcely merits its title. The deaf man is entirely a passing character. It is the only case in which a play can be said to have derived its name from a character confined to the passing-scenes. In general, there is scarcely a plot. The action passes from one thing to another, leaving the scenes strung one after the other with little or no relationship. The closing dialogue on the *Nacimiento* shows close similarity to the last speeches of Encina's *Égloga representada en la mesma noche de Navidad*.

To return to Rueda. All possible and impossible influences have been seen on his work from Theocritus to Ruzzante and his followers and the *Commedia dell'arte*.[50] Certainly he knew the *Celestina* and Italian comedy, and it is more than probable that he was acquainted with Plautus. But when all influences

[49] *History of Spanish Literature*, pp. 167–68.

[50] Fitzmaurice-Kelly, *Life of Cervantes*, p. 171 and n. Creizenach, *Geschichte*, III, 172–73 and 171. Stiefel in *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, XV, 320 and n. 2. Schaeffer, *Geschichte des span. Nationaldramas*, I, 38. Rodríguez Marín, *Burla burlando*, p. 338. Moratín, *Orígenes* (*B. de A. E.*, II, p. 161). Flamini, *Il Cinquecento*, pp. 317–18. And almost anyone else who has ever seen the name of Rueda!

are accounted for, it still remains true that above them all, in his work for the *entremés*, he is himself and a Spaniard. Wherever his material came from, he made it his own, and he made it Spanish. His types, and in this he was less original than some think,[51] are better worked out than those of his predecessors. Above all, they are thoroughly native both in their faults and their virtues. To Rueda's mind, comedy was undoubtedly the most important thing in the drama, and it seems to have been with him almost a point of patriotic pride to make it the truly individual and national part of his plays. All the more because of this, there can scarcely be a question of direct borrowings for his comedy.

Lope de Rueda then, is not essentially a creator of types; the use of dialect in Spanish comedy long antedates him; as has been seen, he is far from being the "inventor" of the *passo*.[52] What he did as his essential contribution to the *entremés* was to fix and delimit the form *as a form*. Until his time, the attempts, though fairly numerous, had been halting, timid, uncertain of the end to be attained. He first understood clearly the possibilities and implications of the situation, and he took the already "invented" form, and gave it life and breath, defining in his work its scope and aim as none before him had been able to do. That he was able to control and direct the *entremés* was due to those qualities that won for his works a hearing: to the vividness and force of his dialogue, as has been pointed out,[53] to the popular form of his language, and perhaps in no small measure to his adoption of prose. Add to this his real ability to give color to the life of the people he knew, the life of the very heart of the Spanish character, rising in his delineations at times, if not often, to a point just short of art, and it is not to

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[51] Prof. House is certainly in error when he says, "He introduced a large number of new comic types drawn largely from the city classes. *Page, simple, médico, ladrón, estudiante, alguazil, hidalgo, fregona, mundana*, these are some of the characters that jostle each other in his *pasos*." *Rom. Rev.*, IV, 319. It has been seen that almost all of these are to be found, not alone in the theater, but in the passing scene as well, from the time of Torres Naharro.

[52] As assert Sanivisenti, *Manuale di Lett. spagnuola*, p. 72; Ford, *Main Currents*, p. 115; Fitzmaurice-Kelly, *Lope de Vega and the Spanish Drama*, pp. 10–11, and many others.

[53] Menéndez y Pelayo, *Tres comedias de Alonso de la Vega* in *Dresden Gesellschaft für romanische Literatur*, Vol. 6, intro., p. XIV.

be wondered at that he became the master of Cervantes and of the later writers of the *entremés*.

The works of Alonso de la Vega were, like those of Rueda, published posthumously by Timoneda in 1566. They contain a number of passing-scenes, though in no case is the word *entremés*, or *passo*, used in connection with them. Several are short passages like so many written *lazzi*. It is possible, since Alonso de la Vega came under Italian influence, that he drew at least the inspiration for them from Italian comedy. Examples of such scenes may be found in the *Tholomea* between the merchant and the *simple*,[54] and between the maid and the *viejo*[55]; and in the *Duquesa de la Rosa* in a scene by no means in the best of taste, but that smacks of Italian humor, in which Thome enters and offers to sell the duchess the bundle of wood with which she is to be burnt.[56]

The second scene of the *Tholomea* has a fairly well-developed *entremés*. A maid-servant makes sport of a necromancer who attempts to make love to her.[57] The closing passage of scene five forms another.[58] Robledillo, a cowardly ruffian and a follower of Tholomeo, has gotten into Argentina's house, and is frightened to death to find himself there. It is night. The maid comes out to hang some clothes, takes Robledillo for a tree trunk, and attaches the clothes line to him. The *viejo*, a sort of inferior majordomo, enters, discovers the intruder, and would attack him but for the interference of the maid. The scene, although ridiculous, does not make a bad *entremés*. In scene seven,[59] there is a short passage in which a *simple* complains of being scratched by the cat, and when the maid tries to find the marks, it is to discover that he has not been touched. The structure of the dialogue rather allies this scene to the lazzi passages cited above. Scene two of the Seraphina has a rather good *entremés*. The *simple* is to be hanged for allowing his master's breeches to be destroyed.

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[54] *Tres comedias de Alonso de la Vega* in *pub. cit.*, Vol. 6, p. 7 and pp. 8–9.
[55] *Idem.*, pp. 13–14.
[56] *Idem.*, pp. 104–05.
[57] *Idem.*, pp. 10–12.
[58] *Idem.*, pp. 22–25.
[59] *Idem.*, pp. 29–31.

He refuses to say the credo, replying with "martingala" instead, since "he is not to be hanged for the credo." He is released, and thereupon wants to have everyone else hanged.[60] Scene three contains a short passage of the servant type.[61] The *Comedia de la Duquesa de la Rosa* has the best-rounded *entremés* scenes of any of the plays of Alonso de la Vega. The first introduces the already familiar Portuguese and his *mozo* who deceives and makes his master ridiculous. The Portuguese, like his predecessors, is over-fond of music, vain and pompous, amorous. The whole passage makes a good *entremés*.[62] The second such passage has many points in common with the tradition as far back as the *Auto del Repelón*. Bravonel—the name may be significant—tells of meeting seven ruffians, routing them, and slaying one. Loaysa, a lackey, enters to belie his tale. He has been attacked and beaten by some pages. Like Robledillo in the *Tholomea*, Bravonel, his cowardice exposed, offers his services to the lackey "if it is necessary to kill anyone in his service."[63] It makes an *entremés* comparable to those of a certain class in Rueda's work. A third good scene of the sort is that in which the duke's majordomo gives some preserves and a message to the *simple* for the duke. The message is never delivered and has no place in the play. The majordomo tells the *simple* that the conserves are bewitched. A page suggests to the *bobo* that they bewitch themselves by eating the contents of the jar. The majordomo returns to give the simpleton a thrashing for the theft.[64] A scene which only by implication has any relation to the drama is that in which the *bachiller* Valentin and his *mozo* discuss in macaronic Latin and without sense or reason, the former's love for the duchess, to whom he finally makes an explanation in the most ridiculous terms. It is nothing but a passing-scene, but a little apart from the already establishing form.[65]

Moratín in his *Orígenes* published a really beautiful little

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[60] *Tres comedias de Alonso de la Vega* in *pub. cit.*, Vol. 6, pp. 46–48.
[61] *Idem.*, pp. 50–51.
[62] *Idem.*, pp. 77–79.
[63] *Idem.*, pp. 83–86.
[64] *Idem.*, pp. 88–91.
[65] *Idem.*, pp. 92–95.

playlet called a "paso," and entitled *Amor vengado.*[66] He ascribes it to Alonso de la Vega. It is a pastoral scene in the Italian manner, and except for the sub-title of *passo* has nothing whatever to do with the *entremés* tradition. Nothing further definite is known concerning it; but if it really belongs to Alonso de la Vega, and if it originally bore the title *passo*, the fact would go to show that the word was of uncertain application at the time, and when used about the time of Timoneda, could mean a playlet or passage of any nature whatever: that *passo*, unlike *entremés*, was not the name of a comic or even a passing form, subordinate in another composition. It has been seen that *passo* for *entremés* was in the sixteenth century only a sporadic use.

The contribution, then, of Alonso de la Vega consists of four or five really developed *entremeses* and a few minor passages like *lazzi*, enough to give him a place with Timoneda and Rueda as one of those on whom rests the moulding of the form in prose just after the middle of the sixteenth century.

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[66] Reprinted in Ochoa, *Tesoro*, I, 200–201, along with the *Orígenes*.

IV

The Closing Decades of the Century

It is proved by the title-page and the first three *entremeses* of the *Registro de Representantes* that at least as early as 1570 others than Rueda, and his single predecessor Horozco, had begun to write *entremeses* as a separate form apart from any particular play. There is reason, however, to believe that these three examples do not much antedate in composition the time of their publication, for in the poem that precedes them Timoneda says, "Here are set down with my pen the most pleasing *and modern pasos*." Rueda's contributions to this collection were, of course, written before 1565, the date of his death, and it would seem that Timoneda must have had in view the three by various authors. They have to some extent the air of imitations, none too well done, of Rueda. This might be expected to be the case, if they were written between the date of publication of the *Deleitoso* and 1570. If such is the fact, it goes to show that the impulse to the new form given by the printing of Rueda's writings was not long allowed to lie dormant.

While, however, as will be seen, the production of *entremeses* never flagged, comparatively few can be definitely and certainly assigned to the period between 1568 or 1570 and the close of the century among those which are extant. The reason for this cannot be stated with complete certainty. It must not be forgotten, however, that the *entremés* was still a fugitive piece for an occasion rather than a literary form. When written at all, they were probably hastily jotted down for use of the troupe, and would naturally disappear in the many vicissitudes to which the belongings of a company of the time were subject. And unfortunately, after Timoneda, no *autor* seems to have had the good fortune to find a publisher for his stray pieces as did Rueda. Without Timoneda, the remains of the form, apart from the passing-scene, would be scanty indeed to about the year 1570. Two of Horozco's would exist and nothing more.

In a collection of *autos* written for representation by the students of the Jesuit College at Salamanca, the *entremés* occurs

rather frequently. The *Parabola coenae*[1] has one such scene, entitled in the codex "La Gallofa."[2] The greater part of it is in prose. The characters are four beggars: a lame man, a cripple, a blind man, and a deaf one. They discuss their trade not a little after the manner of such personages noted already in the *entremeses* of the *Turiana* and elsewhere. The scene closes with an "oración argentina" by the blind man which he tells his companions he says only for those who give him silver. This passage is in verse. On the whole, the play introduces no new elements, but it does serve to show that certain traditions and manners of interpretation were beginning to attach themselves definitely to the new form.[3]

The *Examen Sacrum* in the same codex has two *entremeses*, each called an "actio intercalaris."[4] The first is short, and lacking in humor. It is interesting, however, for certain sidelights it throws on the drama of the time. An *alcalde* and three *simples*, or peasants, discuss what is to be done to celebrate Corpus. One would have neither "comida ni auto," but only a sword-dance and religious observance of the day. Another would omit the meal, but not the *auto* lest "Pero Escribano and the smith, *who write well*,[5] and take upon themselves each year the trouble of pleasing the public" should be offended, and after all "it is the use and custom." On the commonness of the custom there is, of course, much proof in extant documents. From the text, however, it may safely be inferred that the *autos* were, at least in some cases, the product of local "celebrities," often perhaps as in this case chosen from among the artisans of the village. The theatrical company was evidently not yet in complete control. The situation on this point, at feast in the early drama in Spain, was apparently not far different lrom that known to have existed in England and more or less in the rest of Europe. The latter part of this *entremés* is of little moment. It ends with the words, "Children, no more

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[1] *B. de A. E.*, Vol. 58. The *entremés* is pp. 126–127.

[2] *Idem.*, Vol. 58, p. 126, col. 2 note.

[3] Pedroso, from internal evidence, thinks that this play must have been written before 1568. *Cf. B. de A. E.*, Vol. 58, p. 127 n. 1.

[4] *B. de A. E.*, Vol. 58. The scenes in question are pp. 138 and 141.

[5] "*Que trovan bien.*"

of this, for that is not in the service of God." They show clearly the clerical tendencies of the writer.

The second *actio intercalaris* is to some extent a continuation of the one just discussed. Henero, who is evidently the smith mentioned above, is angry because there is to be no *auto* for "Never," says he, "did I write (he hecho) better couplets than this time." This *entremés* is made up of a play (or rather rehearsal) within a play.[6] Henero and Escribano (see above) are training their rustic players for the Corpus *auto*. It is, in some measure, Hamlet and the players before Shakespeare had conceived his great work.

In the same codex, the *Trionfo del Sabio*, and the dialogue, *De metodo studendi*, both are accompanied by entremeses.[7] The dialogue, *De praestantissima scientiarum elligendi* by Fathers Andrés Rodríguez and Juan de Pineda has also an *entremés* at the end of the play.[8] The *Cenonia* has no *entremés*, but does have choruses which may have fulfilled the same function.[9]

A passing-scene is found in the *Auto del sacrificio de Abraham*[10] where a passage of wit between maid and *bobo* as they are spreading the table for the feast has no relation to the action.[11] As the century moves toward a close, the passing-scene will still be found as, for example, in the second act of Ricardo de Turia's *La burladora burlada* where there are certain technical reasons for its presence, and it can be traced in the seventeenth century at least as far as Tirso. But in general the heyday of the separate scene passed shortly after the middle of the

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[6] *Cf.* Schwab, *Das Schauspiel im Schauspiel zur Zeit Shakesperes*, in *Wiener Beiträge z. eng. Philol.*, Vol. 5.

[7] Barrera, *Catálogo*, pp. 588 and 330.

[8] *Idem.*, pp. 330 and 304.

[9] *Idem.*, p. 535. The passing-scene seems to have played a more than ordinarily important part in the Jesuit drama, not always, however, as a comic-relief scene. At least, this is true in Germany at the beginning of the seventeenth century where they either follow the Italian form of the musical interlude (in Spain the *coro*) from which develops in Italy the *melodramma*, or they are mute scenes accompanied by music, used to represent in brief a summary of the action of the preceding act, and drive home its principal lesson. Exactly the same thing occurs at the close of the third act of the *Parabola coenae* (*B. de A. E.*, Vol. 58, p. 125). *Cf.* Carl Kaulfusz-Diesch, *Untersuchungen über das Drama der Jesuiten im 17 Jahrhundert* in *Archiv f. das Studium der neueren Sprachen u. Literaturen*, Vol. 131 (N. S. 31), pp. 1–17. For *interludium*, esp. pp. 4–5.

[10] Rouanet, *Colección*, I, pp. 8–10. *B. de A. E.*, Vol. 58. The passage in question is scene five in the latter publication.

[11] The same kind of passing-scene is found also in the German. *Cf.* Hammes, *Das Zwischenspiel im deutschen Drama* in *Literarhistorische Forschungen*, XLV, p. 33.

sixteenth century with the definitive formation of the *genre* which was its logical outgrowth. On the one hand a better and more defined dramatic technique[12]; on the other the creation of a form to fulfill its function combine to the almost complete extinction of the passing-scene.

The plays of the so-called "Rouanet Collection"[13] offer considerable indications for the form. There is, first of all, a single separate *entremés: De las esteras.* In prose and in the manner of Rueda to whom it has been attributed, it has been called the "first *entremés* of the Spanish theatre," and the date of composition placed between 1530 and 1550.[14] The latter date seems early, but is just barely possible; the former, from what is known of the development of the form in general, appears out of the question. The play opens with two maids beating some mats and discussing as they work the lot of servants, and their own amours. The *bobo* and the maids' lovers, one of whom is a *bachiller* who talks macaronic Latin, enter. When the master comes on the scene, the girls hide the men in the mats, but they are discovered, and the *entremés* ends in the accustomed rough-and-tumble manner. The close is weak, but on the whole, the playlet is no poorer than some of those known to be Rueda's. If it is indeed his, one is tempted to see a personal allusion in the words of Melchora: "There is no greater labor in the world than to serve for a lifetime, and then have (your master) give you five thousand maravedis, an old frying-pan with more holes in it than a grater, a lamp without a hook, four broken dishes, and to cap it all a tailor for a husband." The reader thinks instinctively of the suit Rueda fought so stubbornly in behalf of his wife for her services to the Duke of Medinaceli.[15] As for the last clause, one might be tempted to imagine that Rueda had heard something of the same charge against himself, substituting gold-beater for tailor!

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[12] In this movement Ricardo de Turia himself, Juan de la Cueva, Lope de Vega, Cervantes, Cristóbal Suárez de Figueroa, such writings as the *Tablas poéticas* of the Licenciado Francisco Cascales all tend toward a forcing of the adoption of the unities, either in their entirety or in a modified form.

[13] *Colección de autos, farsas y coloquios del siglo XVI*, four vol., Barcelona y Madrid, 1901.

[14] *Revista española de lit., hist. y arte*, año I, número I, de Enero de 1901, pp. 21–22.

[15] Narciso Alonso A. Cortés, *Un pleito de Lope de Rueda*, Madrid y Valladolid, 1903.

Some six times in the collection there is the direction, "aqui a de aver un entremes," or words of a similar nature. Exactly the same kind of an indication is found in German plays, and in one case a certain definite *intermedium* is named to be inserted.[16] It seems undoubted that the Spanish author, or authors, knew of the form as a form, and intended to have the players insert at the points indicated any *entremés* from their repertoire. It was to fill a need of just this sort in the life of a company that Timoneda published those collections, especially of Rueda, which, as has been seen, were intended as a players' vademecum. The directions in the Rouanet collection prove that the use of the form was becoming generalized. This call for an *entremés* comes at various places from near the beginning to near the end of the *autos*. It is evident that the mere matter of location was not the momentous thing. What the author desired above all was the "crutch," as the editor of Benavente has put it, on which to support his play. Occasionally music takes the place of an *entremés* as in the *Farsa sacramental de la fuente de la gracia* where there is the direction, directly similar in intention to the one cited, "Tañe, y baila el Bovo."[17] The end in view is the same.

Other technical considerations are fulfilled at times by passing-scenes. In the *Auto del sueño de Nabucdonosor*,[18] the chamberlain and Arioc play at dice "while the king reposes." This is to allow the time necessary for his dream. The *Farsa del robo de Digna* also has a scene to allow a lapse of time. In this case, however, while it is comic, it has been related to the play. It is noteworthy, nevertheless, that this scene is in prose, intercalated in a play in *quintillas*, a perhaps unique case in the history of the Spanish drama, as Rouanet suggests.[19] The *Desposorios de Joseph* has a passage by the *bobo* that gives the actress time for a change of location.[20] Near the middle of many other plays in the collection, there is a comic scene, more or less related to the

[16] Hammes, *Das Zwischenspiel* . . . in *op. cit.*, XLV, p. 138 and pp. 27–28. For the scene which "peut se placer dans différentes comédies," see Driesen, *Der Ursprung der Harlekin*, p. 209 and notes 6 and 7.

[17] Rouanet, *Colección*. . . . III, p. 459.

[18] Rouanet, *op. cit.*, I, 254–55.

[19] Rouanet, *op. cit.*, IV, 152. This play has been attributed to Rueda.

[20] Rouanet, *op. cit.*, IV, 181. Note that these all form gaps *created by the author*. For gaps that the author bridges, see W. R. Myers in *Mod. Philol.*, VIII, pp. 217 and 363. For these technical considerations in the German, see also, Hammes, *op. cit.*, pp. 16–17, 19, and *passim*.

action. Only in a few cases can they be classed as passing-scenes. In the *Aucto del rey Asuero* while the banquet is being prepared, comes a passage composed of a song by the *Truán*, and a dialogue of *pullas* between him and the *bobo*. In the *Fuente de Sant Juan*, there is a more or less scabrous play that introduces a *bachiller*, an old man, a *bobo*, and a girl called Ursula. It does not belong to the play, and two of the characters do not appear in the *auto* except in this scene. One of the other personages changes completely in the action proper, and becomes serious instead of comic. Just after the *loa* of the *Resurreción de Christo* is a passage much like the later *bailes*.

In the *Aucto del finamiento de Jacob* there is a scene so completely separate, and so well rounded out that it is hard to see why the author has not called it an *entremés*. A gypsy flatters the *bobo* and reads his palm, telling him all sorts of ridiculous and contradictory things about himself and his future. The humor, on the whole, is better and less dependent on roughness, than is often the case in the *entremés*.

The *entremés* in the School Drama finds its continuation in the *Fabella Aenaria* of Lorenzo Palmyreno. The first performance of this play was February 8, 1574. The *entremés* is found between the first and second acts. Two *bachilleres* make merry with the daughter of a gaoler. A *baile* also is used as a passing-scene.[21]

Juan de la Cueva's *Comedia del tutor*, first played in Seville in 1579, has some interesting material for the form. The passage is as follows:

> Anda, que sin más sosiego,
> contigo me veré luego,
> dentro del Alcayceria.
> Ay tan gracioso entremes?
> Hizo en su vida Saldaña
> ninguno de tal maraña,
> con ser la primera qual es?[22]

The word is here used without question in reference to the new

[21] Mérimée, *L'Art dramatique à Valencia*, pp. 269 and 262.

[22] Juan de la Cueva, *Comedias y tragedias*, I, 366–67. In the following interpretation of this passage, a possible ambiguity because of the word *hizo* has been disregarded. The whole situation of the *entremés* of the period seems clearly to justify the meaning adopted.

form. "Was there ever an *entremés* of Saldaña's equal to this (trick)?" This is the ultimate sense of the passage. As to Saldaña, there were two of the name, Luis and Pedro, both *autores*. Pedro seems undoubtedly to be the one mentioned here by Cueva since it was he who gave many of the latter's plays, and among them, probably at the *estreno*, *El tutor*.[23] From this fact, and from the context of the passage cited, it seems certain that this Pedro de Saldaña wrote *entremeses*, otherwise Cueva's words have no meaning, and from their tenor it may be inferred that one of the things for which he was most noted was just this composition of these playlets. Possibly he was one of the direct successors of Rueda in that work. None of his *entremeses*, so far as is known, have been preserved. It has been seen that for the preservation of these fugitive pieces there lacked another Timoneda. But one of the important things in the words of Cueva is that they give an added proof of the fact that *entremeses* continued to be written; that the tradition established by Rueda continued unbroken, and that still in 1579 it was the *autor*, the head of the company of players, in whom that tradition mainly found its continuation. This is significant. It becomes more than ever certain that one of the duties of the *autor* was to supply *entremeses*, at least often of his own composition, for any given play. This was natural since the *entremés* was still the popular non-literary element, undoubtedly felt unworthy of their talents by the best authors of the time. It was only later that all began to write them. Other documents also seem to show the same thing. There is, for example, for the year 1594 an agreement with an *autor* for two *autos* and "in each auto an *entremés* to the satisfaction of the said committee,"[24] and later, perhaps summing up the result of some decades of experience, Carlos Boyl in his *Romance a un licenciado que deseaba hacer comedias* says:

> Letras, loas y entremeses
> *buscará de mano ajena*,
> porque la propia de todos
> como propia se condena.[25]

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[23] Sánchez-Arjona, *Noticias referentes a los anales del teatro en Sevilla*, p. 57 and n. 2, pp. 52, 43, and especially p. 64. Other mentions *passim*. Also Rennert, *Spanish Stage*, p. 592.

[24] Pérez Pastor, *Nuevos datos* (second series) in *Bulletin Hispanique*, IX, pp. 360–61.

[25] *B. de A. E.*, Vol. 43, p. XXVII. The *Romance* in question was published in a volume of 1616. Barrera, *Catálogo*, p. 45.

The usage, then, called for *entremeses* by another hand. This was a wise rule, if only for the variety that it would add. It seems probable that the plays of the last decades of the sixteenth century were not played without *entremeses*, and that these were for the most part by the *autores*, the leaders of theatrical companies, and not by the authors of the plays themselves. If this is the case, it is not strange that so few have been preserved with the plays themselves. Perhaps, too, it is not beyond reason to suppose that Saldaña supplied the *entremeses* for the plays of Cueva. If so, Cueva would have had an additional reason to mention him in the passage cited.

Rey de Artieda's *Los amantes*, a play of about the year 1580, contains a considerable number of passing-scenes, scarcely allied at all to the action, and there were between the acts breaks for interludes. These were at least in part musical in nature, and may have drawn some of their inspiration from the Italian *intermezzo*. In any case, they do not altogether follow the establishing tradition of the *entremés*.[26]

Were further proof of the continuity and popularity of the form necessary, it might be found in the frequent allusions in documents and agreements concerning the theater in the closing decades of the century. For example, in addition to those already cited, there are statements concerning the *entremés* for the years 1575, 1578, 1579, 1582 and 1584. For 1589, there are two cases, one of which is an agreement with the *autor* for three *autos* "con los entremeses que se le ordenaren." It is evident from this that they were to be had in sufficient numbers to allow of choice, and it may also indicate that certain ones were better known and more popular than others. For July and August of 1593, *autos* with their *entremeses* are called for. In 1595, Alonso de Cisneros and Juan Ruiz Mendi made an agreement to play two "autos con entremeses, los que le señalen"; 1599 has another mention; 1601 another.[27] Sometimes instead of the regular *entremés* it was, as in 1595, songs in the entr'actes[28];

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[26] Mérimée, *L'Art dramatique à Valencia*, pp. 309 and 317.

[27] Pérez Pastor, *Nuevos datos*, pp. 11, 15, 36, 37, 39, 40. *Nuevos datos* (second series) in *Bulletin Hispanique*, Vol. 8, p. 368. Milego, *El Teatro en Toledo*, p. 67. Cotarelo, *Colección . . .* in *Nueva B. de A. E.*, Vol. 17, intro., p. LXIV.

[28] Pérez Pastor, *Nuevos datos*, p. 39.

sometimes dances took its place, but in any case the tradition continued uninterrupted.

While he does not specifically name the form, the author of the *Comedia Jacobina*, published at Toledo in 1590, seems to have had it as the main object of his attack when he said in his prologue:

> Porque, sin duda, los piadosos ánimos
> y maduros ingenios (como entiendo que
> serán los más de los que están oyéndome)
> no se les dando mucho, ni curándose
> de otros manjares que verdades sólidas,
> no gustan de patrañas ni de fábulas,
> de marañuelas vanas y ridículas,
> instrumentillos sólamente cómodos
> para rascar las orejuelas jóvenes
> que suelen deleitarse destas chácaras.[29]

For the year 1598, there is a rather interesting notice. A law-suit was begun against D. Silvestre de Guzman for having detained the *carros*. The counsellors had sent an *alguacil*, Hernando Silva, to find out what was the cause of the delay. He found them playing the *auto*. Sent again to bring them "he found that (the *carro*) had finished representing, and was farther on playing the *entremés*."[30] From this, it appears that it was at times the practice with these Corpus *autos* played from *carros*, to give the *entremés*, when there was but one, at the end of the play. It may be inferred, therefore, that when the records speak of "dos autos para la fiesta del corpus con *sus* entremeses,"[31] what was at least in some cases intended was that at the end of each *auto*, each played from a separate *carro*, there should be given an *entremés*. That this would be in all likelihood the most suitable place for the secondary form is the more reasonable to suppose in view of the comparative shortness of some of the *autos*. They would not always permit an easy division, though such technical considerations were easily waived by the

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[29] Prologue to the *Comedia llamada Jacobina* of Damián de Vegas, pub. in *B. de A. E.*, Vol. 35, p. 509.

[30] Sánchez-Arjona, *Noticias referentes a los anales del teatro en Sevilla*, p. 96

[31] Pérez Pastor, *Nuevos datos*, p. 49.

early players. Of this, the *autos* of the Rouanet collection are a proof. The *entremés*, then, came as an offset to the religious performance. Often, of course, probably when the amount of funds available for the purpose was sufficient for such luxury, more than one *entremés* was played with each *auto*. What their location in that case may have been cannot be definitely ascertained. The words "en cada auto" give no clue. The indications already mentioned from the Rouanet collection add little except to show that even when only one auto was used it might break in on the play. Their position, however, was after all a secondary consideration. What was desired was the greatest possible amount of comic representation.[32]

For the same year, 1598, there is record of a payment to Cristóbal de Chaves for an *entremés* "that he made for one of the *carros* for the Corpus festival in which are represented the notable things of the city." After Timoneda, if he may be counted in the number, it is the first record of a *littérateur* writing *entremeses*.

Since Chaves wrote the famous *Relación de la cárcel de Sevilla*, it has been conjectured[33] that he also wrote the *entremés*, *La cárcel de Sevilla*, which was published in 1617 in the seventh part of the comedies of Lope de Vega. The *Hospital de los podridos* has also been assigned to him. Both attributions are very uncertain, and neither could have anything to do with the *entremés* mentioned above. Of more probable authenticity, and certainly of much earlier date, is the *Entremés de un viejo ques casado con una mujer moza*. It bears at the close the name of Chaves.[34] The inspiration is from a story of Boccaccio, and the eroticism, even were the source unknown, such as to class it as probably Italian in origin. It is noteworthy that where a truly Spanish erotic element is found it is essentially

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[32] Pérez Pastor, *Nuevos datos*, p. 11.

[33] Sánchez-Arjona, *op. cit.*, pp. 98–99.

[34] Pub. by G. L. Lincoln in *Rev. Hisp.*, Vol. 22, pp. 427–436, and by Cotarelo as number 14 of his *Colección*. Prof. Northup in his *Ten Spanish Farces* (intro., p. XIII) mentions a *scenario* in the Bartoli collection, *Gli Intrighi d'Amore ovvero la Finestra Incantata* which has an intrigue very similar to that of the *entremés* under consideration. There is, however, reason to suppose the Italian play of much later date than the *entremés* which, therefore, cannot look to it as a source. Moreover, the *scenario* indicates a well-developed comedy, not a passing-play in any sense.

distinct in quality, partly by reason of its crudity, from that of the Italian. The *entremés* in question is in prose, and from its general character seems clearly to belong to the sixteenth century.

The *entremeses* that can definitely be placed in the last two decades of the sixteenth century are very few. Where it is necessary to depend upon the character of the handwriting to determine their approximate date, an error in placing them too late is of less serious moment than one in placing them too early. Such *entremeses*, then, as seem by the writing of the manuscript to have some claim to the last years of the sixteenth century, are in the present study reserved for the period immediately following.

At the close of the *Comedia Fenisa*, there is a *passo del Portugués*. It is found appended to the edition of 1625; it is not, apparently, in that of 1588 from which Gallardo reprinted the play.[35] As for the edition of 1540, no one but Moratín seems to have given an account of it, and it is not possible to determine whether the *passo* was appended to it, if such an edition ever really existed. Moratín, in his list of characters taken ostensibly from that edition,[36] does not mention either the Portuguese or the page. In any case, judging from its structure, from the fact that, while written in verse, it has nothing in common with the versification that was employed by 1625 in the *entremés*, and to some extent by the use of the word *passo* as synonymous with *entremés*, it cannot be of 1625, and seems rather to be more nearly contemporary with the time of Timoneda. The situation is that already found several times during or prior to that period. A Portuguese, boastful and addicted to sentimental songs, is duped and mocked by his page.

In spite of its mediocre qualities there are certain points of interest in the *Entremés del mundo y no nadie*.[37] Its title ascribes it to Rueda, but in nothing is it like his work, and certainly belongs to another hand.[38] From its generally serious,

[35] Gallardo, *El Criticón*, 1858, No. 8, pp. 29–46.
[36] Moratín, *Orígenes* in *B. de A. E.*, Vol. 2, p. 193.
[37] Pub. by Foulché-Delbosc in *Rev. Hisp.*, Vol. 7, pp. 251–255.
[38] Cotarelo, *Estudios de historia literaria*, I, pp. 236–37.

somewhat didactic tone, one would be inclined to see the hand of a cleric. It is in verse, but like the *entremés* to the *Comedia Fenisa* this is not distinctive in form, which at least proves that it belongs before the verse period in the *entremés*. There is an attempt at allegory and metaphor that sounds strange in the *entremés*. Such an attempt would be less unusual in the German *Zwischenspiel*, and to some extent even in the Italian *intermezzo*. Near the close is a *disputa* between Nadie and Mundo. The dispute was very common in older Spanish, but this is rather a late example of it. Likewise the theme of *El Mundo y No Nadie* is here by no means unique in Spain.[39] The last lines show that this *entremés* was intended for representation at the beginning of a play. From the evidence available, it may date not later than the period of Timoneda's publications.

The date '83 that occurs in the *Entremés del estrólago borracho* has lead Cotarelo to believe that it was written in that year.[40] This may be the case, although that seems a little early in view of the considerable development of form it shows. The title is scarcely a true indication of the content. It is a study of the characters that frequent an inn of low type. The picture is fairly well drawn as a whole though it does not stand out as an especially able piece of work. In material, this *entremés* follows the same general lines of a tendency in the form that began with the second of the *Registro de representantes*.

Considerably more primitive in structure, except for the use of a song at the end, a new departure in the *entremés*, and one that later became customary, is the *Entremés de un hijo que negó a su padre*.[41] By far the most interesting thing about it is that it offers an example of the *extempore* in the *passo*. Near the close a stage-direction reads: "aqui le hacen que enseñe la lengua por fuerza, y en esto puede el Villano decir lo que mas le llegara a cuento." And again after a speech or two: "aqui lo apoda el Villano los apodos que mejor le cuadraren." Here is a clear example, and perhaps the earliest in the history

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[39] Crawford, *Spanish Drama before Lope de Vega*, p. 134. Bolte, *Niemand und Jemand* in *Jahrbuch der deutschen Shakespeare-Gesellchaft*, Vol. XXIX.

[40] Cotarelo, *Colección . . .* in *Nueva B. de A. E.*, Vol. 17, intro., p. LXII.

[41] Pub. by J. P. W. Crawford and also Cotarelo, *op. cit.*, No. 11.

of the form, in proof of the fact that what Italy knew in the *commedia dell'arte* was not altogether unknown in Spain. The action as here outlined follows exactly in the footsteps of the Italian where such tricks and rough play were the rule. If this *entremés*, as seems certain, belongs to the last decades of the sixteenth century, it falls in the very period when Ganassa and the Italians were most influential in Spain,[42] and it is not hard to see here their direct influence. It must be observed, however, that the Italian usage itself went much further than this. The *commedia dell'arte* consists almost entirely of such skeleton outlines. Where they occur in the *entremés*, as here, they are altogether minor, and of no great importance. Like the *lazzi*, they could be omitted without loss. In the *entremés*, the main action in every case is carefully and fully written out, and complete in itself.[43]

At the end of the century, the form was still definitely in prose; great numbers of *entremeses* were being used, and their function and structure were well understood. There was already a strong tendency to make the *entremés* literary as well as popular, an impulse that is to be noted in a more complicated intrigue, as far as complication was possible in so short a play, in an increase in its length, in the use of a greater number of personages, and in a tendency to employ proper names for the characters in place of the generic type-names that had been the custom, with numerous exceptions, however, in the earlier years of its development. Finally, the movement toward a literary form can be observed in the more restricted use of mere horse-play and rough language, in favor of a greater sobriety, and a type of humor less strictly popular in character and appeal. The new form was to belong henceforth increasingly to the literary man rather than to the hack-writing *autor;* to the theater rather than the street corner or the inn with its makeshift appointments, makeshift play, and chance audience.

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[42] Bartoli, *Scenari inediti della commedia dell'arte*, intro., p. CXXIX–CXXX; Driesen, *Der Ursprung des Harlekin*, p. 229 n. 1. On the time of this *entremés*, see Rennert, *Spanish Stage*, p. 406.

[43] Directions for extempore acting are found in the German *Zwischenspiel* at least as early as 1601. *Cf.* Hammes, *Das Zwischenspiel im deutschen Drama* in *Literarhistorische Forschungen*, XLV, pp. 87 and 99.

V

The Seventeenth Century to Cervantes

One of the clearest proofs of the importance the new *genre* had assumed by the beginning of the seventeenth century is its frequent recognition in laws regulating theatrical performances. In the year 1600, a convocation of theologians and counsellors called together by the king "to confer, and arrange the conditions under which comedies may be permitted" decided that both comedies *and entremeses* must be submitted for censorship, and that "evil or lascivious matter be not admitted . . . either in the principal part or in the *entremeses*."[1] In 1615, there is record of another very similar decree[2]; and in 1641, in the city of Madrid was promulgated another in nearly identical terms.[3] There is an example of censorship for the year 1600. The document reads as follows: "en el entremés de *La Alameda de Sevilla* no diga el rufián aquellos donaires de la caída de los ángeles malos, guardada siempre la honestidad que se debe. En Madrid, a 10 de Noviembre de 1600."[4] Sánchez-Arjona says that the *entremés* in question exists in manuscript in the Biblioteca Nacional. It does not, however, appear to be listed in the Paz y Melia *Catálogo*. As Schack suggests, the restrictions seem not to have been long observed,[5] and their repetition, as noted above, seems to have served but little to that end. Another case of censorship is to be noted for the year 1609.[6] Mariana in his *Liber de spectaculis*, also of 1609, complains of the profanation of churches and even convents "con entremeses y bailes indecentes."[7] As late as 1649, D. Luis Crespi de Borja

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[1] Schack, *Historia de la lit. y arte dram. en España*, II, 277–79. Sánchez-Arjona, *Noticias referentes a los anales del teatro en Sevilla*, pp. 101–2.

[2] Sánchez-Arjona, *op. cit.*, p. 168.

[3] Sánchez-Arjona, *op. cit.*, pp. 351–52.

[4] Sánchez-Arjona, *op. cit.*, p. 108 and note 1.

[5] Schack, *op. cit.*, II, 281–82.

[6] Sánchez-Arjona, *El teatro en Sevilla*, pp. 58–59.

[7] Schack, *op. cit.*, II, 280–81.

in his denouncement of the theatre[8] says, "Muchas veces he predicado que las comedias que se representan en España, *con bailes y entremeses lascivos*, no son lícitas. . . . *Ni las comedias suelen hacer aprobar los bailes y entremeses*, ni el modo de representar está en el papel: *antes lo suelen añadir después de revistas las comedias*."[9] It is evident that the *entremés* sought by all means to escape the censorship, and to maintain itself as a free outlet for the popular expression, denied speech in the comedy itself.

To the year 1599, can be assigned definitely two *entremeses*. The first is, according to a statement at its close, by Martín de Santander who, like Rueda, was leader of a troop of actors. This *Entremés de los ladrones convertidos*, entitled also *Los ladrones burlados*, is in prose. In type, it follows the style of Rueda. The dialogue is good, and it closes in the boisterous manner of the earlier *entremeses*. What especially distinguishes it from the primitive specimens of the form is the greater complication of the action, and the frequent change of scene with the coming and going of actors. It shows that the crude, haphazard scenes were giving way to a more settled type. The situation is that of thief against thief; the theft of some stolen money that the original thieves try to steal back again.[10]

The second for the year 1599 is the *Entremés del platillo* of Simón Aguado. It was written for the marriage of Philip the Third in that year, but, as the one discussed above was not copied in its present form until 1607, so this *entremés* is dated by the copyist July 16, 1602.[11] While the greater part of the action is prose, this serves only to form a connecting thread for the songs and dances interspersed through it. Though it does not illustrate in any sense the developed form, here are to be seen the first stirrings of the *entremés cantado* that a little later became of considerable importance as one of the divisions of the form. In this single example, the *entremés cantado* seems

[8] *Respuesta a una consulta sobre si son lícitas las comedias que se usan en España. Cf.* Gallardo, *Ensayo*, II, No. 1943.

[9] P. 26 of Borja, *op. cit.*

[10] Cotarelo, *Colección* . . . in *op. cit.*, Vol. 17, No. 20.

[11] Barrera, *Catálogo*, p. 6.

to have a certain similarity to the French *ballet de cour*. Here also for the first time, so far as documents for the *genre* show, appears the *chacona*, and the *Indiano*. This character and the context, as has been pointed out,[12] seem to indicate the American origin of the dance. The name *Harlequin* is also found here in its earliest appearance in the *entremés*, and possibly the earliest in the Spanish drama. Aguado says that it was one of the names given to the *toca* to attract the women. From this, it would seem that the word, taken over, of course, from the Italian plays then popular in Spain, was in vogue on Spanish soil at the time. Inasmuch as such vogues neither last long, nor recur easily within a considerable period of time, it seems probable that the word *Harlequin* was at the time comparatively new in Spain.

The *Entremés de los negros* by the same author, dated August 10, 1602, though possibly written somewhat earlier, is also for the most part in prose. The dancing and music are, however, as in that of the *Platillo*, its most striking feature. From these two *entremeses*, Aguado must be classed as a forerunner of Benavente in the creation of the *entremés cantado*, even though he did not conceive of a completely musical form, for in both cases his basis is prose. Nevertheless, it serves only as a vehicle for the musical parts of his plays. His work introduces these new elements, music and dancing, on the background of the form as developed by Rueda into a short prose playlet with keen, sparkling dialogue, set off by striking character-types, and with its situations punctuated by coarse, rough action. In Aguado's work, this last element is largely displaced by the music, or by mass-action as in the *Negros* where a stage-direction reads, "Van entrando *todos los negros que puedan* en orden, danzando la zarabanda, con tamboriles y sonajas, *y dan la vuelta al teatro*."[13] Aguado evidently understood stage effect, and in this as well as in his other innovations took a by no means unimportant step in advance. His works, too, show a finish surprising for the date at which they were written. There

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[12] Barrera, *loc. cit.* Also Cotarelo, *op. cit.*, intro., p. CCXI.

[13] Cotarelo, *Colección . . .* in *op. cit.*, Vol. 17, p. 234. Both the *Platillo* and the *Negros* were also published in the *Revista de Archivos*.

is a third *entremés* of his, the *Ermitaño*, still unpublished.[14] He is likewise the author of the *Mojiganga de los niños de Rollona y lo que pasa en las calles.*[15] This work, entirely in verse of course, seems to belong to a later date than his *entremeses*. The Paz y Melia *Cátalogo* also lists (No. 2627. Barrera, p. 641) an *entremés* entitled *La Plaza del Retiro*, likewise by Aguado. He was evidently a rather fertile, and as has been seen very early, *entremesista*.

For the year 1602, there is record of another *entremés* evidently musical along the same lines as those of Aguado. The document that records it reads as follows: "El premio del entremés se de a niculas de los rrios, por el entremes de las danças de las aldeas." This Ríos is undoubtedly the famous *autor* of that name. Here is then a proof that the *entremés* even as late as 1602 was sometimes the work of the leader of the theatrical troop: that it had not yet passed entirely into the hands of the literati. And here once more is probably the type of the forerunner of the *entremés cantado.*[16] For August 15, 1602, there is record of a payment made to Baltasar Victoria for a play, "and various musical interludes."[17]

This tendency toward music in the *entremés* in Spain may have been to some extent in response to Italian influences, so strong at about this period. It was in Italy about the time of the rise of the *melodramma* which grew up there from the musical interlude.[18] It is to be noted, however, that if the impulse toward music in Spain seems to come from Italy, the splendor of the latter's *intermezzi*, with their pomp and circumstance, and their marked tendency toward scenic effects and allegory, was not even attempted in Spain until many years later. External influence might exert a certain pressure, and even to some degree direct the channels in which the *entremés* was to

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[14] Barrera, *Catálogo*, p. 6.

[15] Cotarelo, *op. cit.*, p. 222.

[16] Cortés, *Noticias de una corte literaria*, pp. 31–32.

[17] Mérimée, *Spectacles et comédiens à Valencia*, p. 149.

[18] See among others on the subject: Solerti, *Le Origini del melodramma*, esp. pp. 186–207; D'Ancona, *Il Teatro mantovano del sec. XVI;* Salza, *Un dramma pastorale inedito del cinquecento* in *Giornale Storico*, LIV; Saviotti, *Feste e spettacoli nel seicento* in *Giornale Storico*, XLI; Solerti-Lanza, *Il Teatro ferrarese nella seconda meta del secolo XVI* in *Giornale Storico*, XVIII; Croce, *I teatri di Napoli;* D'Ancona, *Origini*, I, 521 and *passim.*

move, but at heart it remained always Spanish in its primitiveness, its humor, and the sentiment that underlay it.

Tárrega's mention of Antonio Baldes, "caporal de los Farçantes," in connection with the *entremés* does not make it clear whether this is another case of an *autor* as composer, or only as a player of the form.[19] Tárrega himself in his *Esposo fingido*, act three, has a sort of *baile de villanos*,[20] and accompanying his *Enemiga favorable* is a *Baile de Leganitos*, probably not of his own composition. It is much like an *entremés*.[21] At this date, the distinction between the *baile* and the *entremés* was at times extremely slight.

For 1605, there is mention of comedians playing *entremeses* from door to door before the homes of important personages.[22] It is evident that they were still given from the *carros*. In 1609, the company of Ríos likewise played *entremeses* with the *autos* they gave from the *carros*.[23]

Rojas in his *Viaje*, published in 1603, speaks of Villegas as having written "forty entremeses."[24] While the numbers given by Spanish writers are often notoriously inaccurate, Rojas' statement gives added emphasis to the conjecture that greater numbers of *entremeses* were written during this period than the number of those extant would seem to indicate.

It is interesting to note the company in which Rojas puts the *entremés:*

> Publícase por el cielo
> que se hagan fiestas solemnes,
> que se encienden luminarias,
> haya toros con cohetes,
> cañas, justas y torneos,
> haya saraos y banquetes,
> máscaras, y encamisadas,
> buenas farsas y entremeses.[25]

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[19] Mérimée, *Spectacles et comédiens à Valencia*, p. 240 n. 1.
[20] Mérimée, *op. cit.*, p. 91 n. 2.
[21] Mérimée, *L'Art dramatique à Valencia*, p. 475; Ticknor, II, 278 and 279, and note 4.
[22] Cortés, *Noticias de una corte literaria*, pp. 30–31.
[23] Sánchez-Arjona, *El teatro en Sevilla*, pp. 58–59.
[24] Rojas, *Viaje entretenido*, I, 93.
[25] Rojas, *op. cit.*, I, 164.

This smacks of the days before the *entremés* was a form, and illustrates its persistence in popular channels.

From the same writer's statements,[26] it is certain that no company of his age went unprovided with these little plays. They were an inseparable part of the repertoire. Rojas' own talent impelled him toward the form as scenes of his *Natural desdichado* show. If many of them are not true *entremeses* in separability from the plot, in subject-matter and style they are at least an approximation to the form, and demonstrate that Rojas, whether or not he wrote *entremeses*, thought in terms of the *genre*.[27]

How important these little pieces were considered is shown by such statements as those of Ricardo de Turia in his *Apologético de las comedias españolas*[28]; by that of the Fleming who, visiting Spain at some time about the middle of the seventeenth century, remarked that between the *jornadas* there were *entremeses* or *bailes* which often were the best part of the play[29]; and by that of the impresario, cited by Pellicer, who speaks of the *baile* as the "salsa de las comedias."[30] Both the *entremés* and her sister-form the *baile* are the "crutches" that maintain the piece. It is interesting to compare this devotion to the *entremés* with the situation in Italy where the writers from the fifteenth century onward assert, "altro non chieggano gli spettatori che l'intermedio," and "gia si solevan fare gl' Intermedj che servissero alla Commedia: ma ora si fanno le Commedie che servono agl' Intermedj."[31] From such relationships and affinities that run all through the form wherever found,

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[26] Rojas, *op. cit.*, I, 150–52.

[27] Paz y Mélia, *El natural desdichado . . .* in *Revista de Archivos*, V, 1901, pp. 44, 234, 725.

[28] *B. de A. E.*, Vol. 43, pp. XXIV–XXVI. Also Schack, III, 227 n.

[29] *Cit.*, Schack, II, 246.

[30] *Cit.*, Morel-Fatio, note to *Arte nuevo* in *Bulletin Hispanique*, III, p. 394.

[31] D'Ancona, *Origini*, I, 521 and II, 167–68. *Il Cocchio, cit.* Prunières, *Le Ballet de Cour en France*, p. 32 n. 1. See also p. 29. These *intermedj* of great pomp seem to have been much favored by the Cardinal Bibbiena (1470–1520). It is at about this time that these complaints begin to be made in Italy. The importance of the *entremés*, and the resultant complaints, fall much later in Spain, of course.

It may also be noted here, once for all, that a series of *entremeses* was sometimes played as a sort of vaudeville without the use of a larger form. When they were given in this way, the resulting play was called a *folla*. *Cf.* Cotarelo, *Colección . . .* in *op. cit.*, intro., p. CCCXIV. Also the dictionaries that he cites there for definitions.

it is certain that the *entremés* in Spain is in the broader sense part of a general movement in the theater, the psychology of which would make an interesting contribution to the history of the drama. The *entremés*, however, for all that, is none the less individual and native to Spain.

In addition to those late sixteenth and early seventeenth century *entremeses* already examined, there are extant a few that have been published in the well-known collection by Cotarelo in the *Nueva biblioteca de autores españoles*. A few others, and possibly some as yet unknown, lie in the archives of Spain. The Cotarelo collection, however, offers sufficient material to determine the further movements of the *genre* until the time of Cervantes, which is the object of the rest of the present chapter.

Of those not yet examined, Cotarelo lists Numbers 19 and 30 of his collection as "letra del siglo XVI"; 12, 17, and 18 "letra de fines del siglo XVI"; 21 and 22 "letra del principio del siglo XVII;" and 13, 15, 16, and 61 "letra del siglo XVII." From so uncertain evidence as the handwriting, it is not possible to say definitely that all of these antedate 1615, the date of publication of the *entremeses* of Cervantes. Nevertheless, internal evidence seems to show that most of them fall before that date; and by the same evidence, most appear to belong to the very close of the sixteenth century at the earliest.

Of these eleven, only three, Numbers 13, 22, and 61, are in verse. Prose, therefore, strongly predominates as might be expected. It is significant, notwithstanding, that verse was beginning to creep in, although it was not until after the first quarter of the seventeenth century that Benavente's practice being accepted as model, and with the predominance in the form of literary tendencies, verse became the established medium for its expression, entirely supplanting the movement initiated by Rueda and his contemporaries.

Both the *Testamento de los ladrones* (No. 19) and *Pero Hernández* (No. 30) are "second entremeses," that is to say, that there was a preceding part to which in each case the one mentioned belongs. This first part is needed to explain allusions in the second. It is probable that the two divisions were origi-

nally played between the acts of a single play. The same thing has already been noted with two of Rueda's *passos*. The *entremés* of *Pero Hernández* is the counterpart of *entremés quinto*, published in the first part of the comedies of Lope de Vega in 1609, and Number 29 of the Cotarelo collection. The name appears as Pedro in the piece from the comedies of Lope, but the action clearly shows that the two belong together. Together, they form in some sense a two-act play to be used at separate intervals in another. From the fact that the second part was published as late as 1609, it seems unlikely that the first can belong to the sixteenth century, as Cotarelo classifies it from the handwriting.

An untitled *entremés* (No. 12), called by Cotarelo *Los Fuelles*, is evidently of early date. It begins with a long soliloquy intended to help the audience to understand the background of the action. Such a prologue in the form of a soliloquy is very common in the earlier *entremés*. It is an acknowledgment of weakness in technique on the part of an author. The situation in this *entremés* is altogether silly. It seems to belong to the class of those used by the wandering company, and probably was composed by an *autor* of not much ability. Marital infidelity of the type commonly found in the Italian theater of the time, and the stupidity of the *simple* make up the whole play. It has certain points of resemblance with the *Entremés de un viejo ques casado con una mujer moza*.

Another *entremés* without title, Number 17 of the collection, belongs to the same tradition. A husband is made to burn his house to get rid of the ghosts that, according to his wife's statement, haunt it, while she makes good her escape with a *sacristán* during the confusion. The *Entremés de un muchacho, llamado Golondrino* . . . (No. 18) is wholly true to the Spanish tradition. It is a study of the lowest classes of society, and of the love affairs of the chief characters. If the action is not altogether unified, the picture is fairly well drawn, and gives a good view of the life of such people. In the Spanish theater, the *entremés* is the form *par excellence* for such studies.

Still another untitled *entremés* (No. 21) shows how far the development had gone in the matter of complicated intrigue

since the time of Rueda. It opens with a soliloquy directed to the audience. A maid-servant loves Palomino, a *sacristán*. She agrees to flee with him, and promises to steal from her mistress whatever clothing she can lay her hands on. The mistress, who also loves Palomino, hears of the intended rendezvous of her maid and the man she loves. She determines to be present disguised as the maid. Pablos, a servant, tells the husband of his wife's intention, and he, too, prepares to be on hand, hidden in some bundles of clothing, the very ones that the maid intended to steal. The mistress, in disguise, meets Palomino, and they go off to bed. The maid enters, and thinks that a gentleman there present is Palomino. An *alguacil* catches them together, and then discovers the master and Pablo in the bundles of clothing. A moment later, the mistress and Palomino are brought in wrapped in the bedding. All are put under arrest, and the scene ends in a general fight. With all this described in a few pages of text, it is no wonder that the author thought it necessary to acquaint his audience with the plot by means of soliloquies.

It is doubtful whether all of the *entremeses* listed by Cotarelo as "handwriting of the seventeenth century" can be dated before those of Cervantes. They show the hesitation between prose and verse that went on until past the first quarter of the century, and at the same time illustrate the reaching out for novelty of effect that naturally went with the rising tide of theatrical art in Spain. The *Entremés de las gorronas* (No. 22) appears to be late, but not too late to show an experiment in the forms of versification. It has romances, redondillas, and even a sonnet. The structure is good, and from a lyrical, if not wholly from a dramatic point of view, the playlet is successful. It forms a rather complete example of what may be called the semi-aristocratic type.

The *Sacristía de Mocejón* (No. 13) evidently belongs to school drama. It is such in both subject and treatment that it seems hardly likely that it was intended for the general public. It contains a farcical sermon, or rather speech, showing again that to obtain material for the form all tradition was ransacked. The *Entremés de los relojes* (No. 61) is a rather abortive and

frigid attempt at allegory. If it was in any wise inspired by allegory in the Italian *intermezzi*, which is at least possible, the author has failed completely to understand his models.

About the first two-thirds of the *Famoso entremés de Mazalquivi* (No. 15) is in prose; the last third is verse. It is built about the leadership of a ruffian chieftain who gives his name to the play, and it belongs to the "thief and ruffian" tradition already noted several times in the *entremés*. Because of a reference to the battle of Saint Quentin which it contains, Cotarelo has supposed that this *entremés* was written about that date.[32] Inasmuch as the impression made by this famous battle was such that even today it exists in the form of popular sayings, there seems to be no reason to believe that the *entremés* can be dated by such an allusion. It certainly cannot have been written many years before the beginning of the seventeenth century.

In the *Entremés famoso de la mamola* (No. 16), a certain Sofia makes three men believe that she has borne them a child. When they bring apparel and presents for the christening, she flees with her lover, just returned from the galleys, leaving each of her three followers a note in which she makes sport of his credulity. The scene ends with the *simple* administering a thrashing to the three dupes.

In the *Doze comedias famosas de quatro poetas . . . de Valencia*, 1608,[33] is the *Entremés del maestro de escuelas*. It is a primitive play in the popular vein in which one servant tricks another into a thrashing. For the date, it shows retrogression rather than advance.

The first part of the comedies of Lope de Vega, published in 1609, contains twelve *entremeses*. Only one is in verse. Lope distinctly disclaimed authorship of the *entremeses* published with his plays.[34] Dr. Rennert has thought that this disclaimer must not be taken too literally, and it is quite possible that some of them do belong to Lope.

The *Melisendra* is in every way an experiment. In verse,

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[32] Cotarelo, *Colección . . .*, intro., p. LXII.
[33] Barrera, *Catálogo*, p. 677.
[34] *B. de A. E.*, Vol. 52, intro., p. XXIV, col. 2.

it is composed of a *loa* and two *jornadas*. The characters are mainly from the higher classes, but the treatment is burlesque. It is interesting to note that one of the personages is the Emperor Charlemagne. And this is an *entremés* from a collection of plays under Lope's name, the man who said:

porque entremés de rey jamás se ha visto![35]

Menéndez y Pelayo, however, feels convinced that it is not from the pen of Lope, in spite of the fact that it is in a collection of his comedies. The play as a whole forms a sort of satire on the love-intrigue of the kind found in the *chansons de geste*. It is, of course, a direct parody on the theme of Gaiferos and Melisendra. This ballad subject was very popular in Spain, and, says Menéndez y Pelayo, still exists in Portugal and Catalonia. The stories of the Carolingian cycle were known in the Iberian peninsula from very remote times. Their popularity there made this theme all the more suitable a subject for parody, and in *entremés* literature as well as in some of the other secondary dramatic forms, burlesques on the subject, especially that of Gaiferos and Melisendra, became common.[36] The *entremés* here under discussion is probably the first example in the *genre* of treatment of the theme.

The *Padre engañado* is an excellent *entremés*. An old man tries to prevent his daughter from having suitors. To better accomplish his end, he discharges the *bobo* for carrying her love-letters. Her gallant introduces the same *bobo*, disguised as a woman, into the old man's house. Then he comes for his supposed ward, and instead elopes with the daughter. They are married, and after the intervention of the good offices of a neighbor, receive the parental benediction. The characters, especially the old man, the *bobo* who torments him into a continual frenzy, and the neighbor as peacemaker are well drawn. The dialogue is good, and the humor is far less strained than is usual in most of the early *entremeses*. It is the prose *entremés*

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[35] *Arte nuevo.*

[36] Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antología*, Vol. XII, chapter on *Romances caballerescos del ciclo Carolingio*, esp. pp. 378–386 and notes. Wolf-Hofmann, *Primavera y flor de romances*, I, intro., pp. L and LI, and LXXXV n. 29. For *Romances de Gaiferos, idem.*, II, 222 *et. seq*; of *Melisendra*, II, 417. *Cf.* also C. Nigra, *Il Moro saracino* in *Romania*, XIV, 231–273.

at its best. While examples of the form as well developed as this are rather rare before Cervantes, an occasional one goes to show that it was beginning to take its place among the works of literature.

The *Capeador* is a rollicking play of a thief who tries to teach the *bobo* to steal. When the latter makes the attempt, he is robbed by his intended victim of sword, hood, and coat. The *Doctor Simple* is a re-working on a far better plane of the first *passo* of the *Registro de representantes*. *Los alimentos*, a sketch of a father with a worthless son, contains one of the best examples of the *bobo* in the *entremés*. The dialogue is also well done, and the humor almost modern in its appeal. The action of *Los negros de Santo Tomé* is very slight. The last scene of the piece is to the accompaniment of music and dancing. It lies somewhat along the lines of those of Aguado, already examined. The *Entremés del Indiano* is very short. It is the story of the box supposed to contain money and jewels left in care of a stranger in exchange for some hard cash. The trick is as old as the *Cid* in Spanish literature, and its equivalent has already been noted in the *entremés*. In this play, the *bobo* acts as an echo of the true situation, a role somewhat allied to that seen in certain passages from Badajoz.

Several of these *entremeses* are certainly by the same hand. The characteristics of the personages, the dialogue, the quality of the humor, and the similarity of the structure all show unity of authorship. It is possible that the same author may also be credited with some of the others in the same collection, but that is not quite so clearly demonstrable.

La cuna and *Los ladrones engañados* are the shortest in the collection. The latter is the *Ladrones convertidos* in a shortened form. The former is from the point of view of subject of little moment. It is much like some of the separate scenes of the mid-sixteenth century. The *Dama fingida* may possibly be by the same author as those mentioned above. The suits of two rival lovers, the intrigue made more complicated by the servants, form the plot. In the *Endemoniada*, a lover pretends himself a conjuror. He affects to cure his sweetheart who is feigning that she is bewitched. After the supposed cure, the

pretended conjuror orders that she be given some food. The *bobo*, imagining that this is a good way to secure the coveted meal, takes it into his head to pretend that he also is bewitched. For his pains, he receives a thrashing. It is but a variation, and an adaptation to Spanish conditions, of a theme as old as Æsop, that finds its modern counterpart in nearly all literatures. Its best re-working since the renaissance is in La Fontaine's fable of *L'Ane et le petit chien*.[37]

In the third part of the comedies of Lope de Vega, 1612, there are three *entremeses*, all in verse. *Los huevos* is a domestic scene that recalls somewhat Rueda's *Las aceitunas*, but it is much less successfully done than its predecessor. Especially the close in which the husband threatens to have his wife buried if she does not obey him is strained and overdrawn. This playlet contains a rehearsal scene for a *Corpus auto*, a situation already found in an *entremés* from the *Examen sacrum*. Such similarities, however, do not necessarily indicate that the writer of this play had any knowledge of his predecessors, though he may at least have known of Rueda. The verse is mainly *redondillas* with the exception of the rehearsal scene which is in hendecasyllables, and another passage which is in prose. Cotarelo thinks this prose passage is a corruption of another hendecasyllabic one. The scene in which the rehearsal takes place forms in some manner a sort of *entremés* within an *entremés*. The *Sacristán Soguijo* is in *romancillos*. A certain *sacristán* had promised to marry a girl, and then jilted her. In her defense, a gallant disguises himself as a ghost, and frightens the recalcitrant lover into compliance. The character-study is nil, and as a whole this *entremés* makes no advance over a number of more or less similar scenes that belong to the earliest period of the *genre*. Music and dancing, however, had come since then to be a rather general accompaniment of the form, and with them the play closes. The *Entremés de los romances* is a take-off on the *Quijote*, certainly not, as Adolfo de Castro supposed, a "bosquejo" of that famous work.[38] The versification

[37] La Fontaine, *Fables*, Bk. IV, No. V.
[38] *Cf.* Bonilla, *Las Bacantes*, p. 149 n. 1.

is varied, including *quintillas*, *romances*, *romancillos* and *redondillas*. As is the case with all three of these *entremeses*, the writer seems to have been experimenting with verse in the new form. It shows the beginning of the transition, the first attempts toward a breaking away from prose. The plot follows in brief the *Quijote*, but the merit of the parody is not great. This *entremés* seems to be by the same author as the *Melisendra*.

A number of *entremeses* other than those of his known collection have been attributed to Cervantes. Castro was especially fertile in such attributions in his *Varias obras inéditas de* Cervantes (1874). The *Entremés de los mirones* can scarcely be called in any sense dramatic: there is hardly any more action than in such a work as the *Colloquio de los perros*. It consists of a series of more or less scabrous anecdotes, supposedly picked up from happenings in the city seen by "observers" sent out by a sort of club or society with this as its purpose. These anecdotes are tied together loosely by dialogue, and the so-called play is more a series of *cuentos* not unlike those collections familiar from the "Arabian Nights" onward. This *entremés* is considerably longer than the average, and ends with a dance that is forced in without any dramatic connection with the story itself. Though it may have been staged—almost any dialogue *can* be staged—it is rather narration than drama. One direction indicates improvization: "aqui hacen cumplimientos entre los dos sobre cual ha de comenzar." A similar situation has been noted in another *entremés*. Other than such sporadic cases, all spoken parts in the form are always written out in full. As a whole, this *entremés* is another piece of experimentation that leads to nothing directly for the form.

The *Entremés de Doña Justina y Calahorra* may be by the same author as the *Melisendra* and the *Romances*. Like those, it is more literary than popular in spirit. The versification follows the same general lines. *Romances* and hendecasyllables, for the most part *sueltos*, form the basis, but even the sonnet is used. The characterization of the personages also offers strong lines of similarity, though the plots differ. Two women learn that their husbands, men of the *vejete* type, are making love each to his neighbor's wife. They trick the husbands into

a discovery of their perfidy, and the play ends with the unfaithful men receiving a beating. The dance that was already becoming familiar at the close of an *entremés* is omitted. The word harlequin appears here again in the *entremés*. Whoever may be the author—and there is some temptation to wonder whether Lope did not have some hand in these *entremeses* that seem to show unity of authorship, and that appeared in the collections of his comedies—Cervantes is certainly not the one who wrote that of Doña Justina y Calahorra.

The *Entremés de los refranes* once more shows experimentation, and how completely all fields were ransacked for material suitable to the form. As the name implies, it is made up of numberless popular expressions and sayings strung together to make such action and plot as is possible under the circumstances. It is amusing if only for its futility as a play. It is in prose, and ends with music and a dance. It also certainly does not belong to Cervantes.

The *entremeses* of the seventeenth century hitherto examined, while they contain numberless experiments, show a steady tendency in the direction of a literary rather than an entirely popular and spontaneous tradition. As it was Rueda's work to make a written entity, an end in itself, of the separate scene that authors, groping in the dark with no real perception of the end in view, had been wont to intercalate in their plays, so it was the business of the first decade and a half of the seventeenth century to give to what had been no more than a formulated anecdote, intended to appeal directly and only to the lower classes of spectators, a background and a tradition in the literature of Spain. If Rueda did more than make the *passo* merely a popular formula, if he by the weight of his skill did not avoid giving it also an impulse toward the construction of a form in literature, the seventeenth century did not bring about the realization of that impulse in all its implications until the year 1615.

In that century, and before Benavente, the great name in the history of the *entremés* is that of Cervantes who closed the prose period initiated by Rueda. Two only of his *entremeses* are in verse, but from 1615, the date of the publication of his

eight *entremeses*, the prose form became more and more sporadic. It has been said with some truth that the *entremeses* of Cervantes are to the *passos* of Rueda what the *Quijote* is to the *Celestina*.[39] This raises at once the question of the merit of Cervantes' contribution. His *entremeses* have been the recipients of all degrees of criticism from the most severe blame to the most unstinted praise.[40] Perhaps the middle of the road as Fitzmaurice-Kelly takes it is safest and at the same time truest. They are interesting, not ample; good, but not master works; filling a limited sphere, and doing no more than that, nor by the nature of the form intended to do more. Possibly the worst charge that can be brought against some at least of them is that they lack to a certain degree the dramatic qualities so essential in these playlets. Within the limited time allotted to the between-act play, nothing is more necessary than movement and intensity. These elements some of the *entremeses* of Cervantes lack to no small extent. That fact is not to be wondered at. Cervantes was essentially a novelist, and rarely is the good novelist a good dramatist as well. Everything that Cervantes wrote for the stage proves the correctness of his contemporaries in refusing him the place he so much coveted among the dramatic writers. One thing at least his age understood supremely well, that is, what constitutes a dramatic artist.

There seems to be no proof that these *entremeses* were played either then or later. They are undoubtedly the best work he has done for the stage, and to be rated well above his other pieces, but they show the same stamp of weakness as his dramas. They lack in the one point that makes or mars a play as a play.

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[39] Rouanet, *Intermèdes espagnols*, pp. 18–19.

[40] It may be of interest to cite two or three of these criticisms:

"Los entremeses están exentos de toda censura: son el modelo único e insuperable de este género dramático." Cotarelo, *Efemérides Cervantinas*, p. 264. *Cit.* also by Hazañas y la Rua, *Los rufianes de Cervantes*, p. 16.

"In the *Entremeses* are discernible some indications of a talent, not ample, indeed, but pleasing, affable, clear. . . ." Fitzmaurice-Kelly, *Life of Cervantes*, pp. 182–83.

"These poor farces and more inferior comedies." Calvert, *Life of Cervantes*, p. 70.

"Ses intermèdes sont beaucoup moins indécents que la plupart de ceux que l'on jouait à cette époque; mais cela ne prouve pas beaucoup en leur faveur." Prosper Mérimée, *Portraits historiques et littéraires*, p. 27.

See also Wolf, *Studien*, pp. 620–21.

They must, therefore, be rated by qualities that have not wholly to do with the strictly stage standpoint. And some of their merit at least they find in that they belong in some measure to the dialogued story of which Cervantes showed himself so complete a master in the *Colloquio de los perros*. It will be recalled that in speaking of one of his comedies, Cervantes says that it was found "larga en los razonamientos."[41] The same thing can be said of his *entremeses*. In this, he stands at the opposite pole from Rueda, but also it may be to some extent because of this that he could be the master who first really brought the form into literature of the highest class.

Notwithstanding their weakness from a dramatic point of view, they were abundantly used by later *entremesistas* as a basis for their own productions.[42] In this sense at least, it is altogether true that they have remained as supreme models. It does not, however, argue in favor of their dramatic qualities. It is rather that Benavente and others found in them material capable of being moulded into really dramatic form. Therefore, instead of being played as they came from the hands of Cervantes, they were ransacked and re-worked, and represented only in their new form.

The strictly authentic *entremeses* of Cervantes were published in the *Ocho comedias y ocho entremeses* of 1615. It seems certain that a number of them had been written over a period of years, and were left lying in manuscript. The reason that his plays did not come before the public Cervantes himself states: "Ni los autores me buscan, ni yo les voy a buscar," for, "como tienen sus poetas paniaguados, y les va bien con ellos, no buscan pan de trastrigo."[43] At the time of the *Viage*, 1614, he says, "Seis (comedias) tengo con otros seis entremeses."[44] If this be an accurate statement of the case, it means that two were added within the year that preceded the publication of the collection. Various attempts have been made to date these

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[41] *Adjunta al Viage del Parnaso*, p. 137.

[42] Cotarelo, *Colección . . .*, intro., p. LXVIII. Rouanet, *Intermèdes espagnols*, p. 22. Bouterwek, *Hist. of Span. Lit.*, p. 275. Menéndez y Pelayo, *Estudios sobre el teatro de Lope de Vega*, Vol. I, p. 69.

[43] *Adjunta al viage del parnaso*, p. 139.

[44] *Adjunta*, p. 139.

eight *entremeses*. From the allusions that they contain, the evidence is slight. From the point of literary style, little perhaps can be learned. Cervantes' works were for the most part, except for the first part of the *Galatea*, published between 1605 and 1615, too limited a time to allow for enough change in the qualities of style on which to base an opinion. The versification of the non-prose *entremeses* has been looked upon as classing them in the sixteenth century period before the influence of Lope de Vega became supreme.[45] But such attempts at dating are at best very indefinite, and the whole matter is such as not in all probability to allow a satisfactory answer. But whatever the date of writing of the *entremeses*, it is certain that Cervantes' influence on the form does not antedate 1615: none of his playlets had been used on the stage prior to publication. None, as has been said, were played after their publication. The influence was purely literary.[46]

The *Viejo celoso* has been spoken of as an "ensayo preliminar."[47] It is a statement scarcely susceptible of definite proof from the evidence at hand. The plot is one already found in the *entremés*, and one that belongs to practically all literatures: the young wife wearied of an elderly and jealous husband and unfaithful to him. As has been noted, the general atmosphere is Italian,[48] but back of the evident foreign influence the individuality and spirit of the author as a Spaniard are plainly to be felt, although the work is by no means worthy of him at his best. Perhaps nowhere else is Cervantes' lack of dramatic sense more clearly to be felt. The story is not badly told, but it completely lacks dramatic interest.

In all but one of his *entremeses*, Cervantes follows the custom, developed about the close of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth century, of closing with a song usually accom-

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[45] Schevill y Bonilla ed. *Cervantes, Comedias y entremeses*, VI, pp. 158–59. Yet Schaeffer (*Geschichte des spanischen Nationaldramas*, I, p. 6) asserts, "Was die Diction angeht, so zeichnen sich die Verse Lope's und seiner Schüler durch hohe Schönheit und glatten Fluss aus. Aeusserlich betrachtet, *sind die ofters eingestreuten reimlosen Hendekasyllaben ein beinahe untrügliches Merkmal dieser Periode.*"

[46] On some of the attempts at dating, see Schevill y Bonilla, *op. cit.*, p. 151 *et seq.*, and Bonilla edition of Cervantes, *Entremeses*, intro., pp. XX–XXIV.

[47] Schevill y Bonilla, *op. cit.*, VI, p. 156.

[48] Bonilla edition of Cervantes, *Entremeses*, intro., p. XXXIV.

panied by dancing. He has the peculiarity, however, of sometimes bringing the music to a close before the end of the play, and leaving the closing lines to dialogue, not depending on the dance to take the actors from the stage. One of the most musical of the Cervantes *entremeses* is the *Rufián viudo*, the latter part of which finds little excuse for existing except as a support for the singing and dancing. It finds its inspiration in the tendency, already noted in Aguado's work, toward the *entremés cantado*. One of the characters of the *entremés* in question is Escarramán, a noted *rufián*.[49] That is also the name of a famous dance, evidently new in the time of Cervantes, for in the *Cueva de Salamanca* one of the personages asks, "Donde se inventaron todos estos bailes de la Zarabanda, Zambapalo y "Dello me pesa," *con el famoso del nuevo Escarramán?*" In the *Rufián viudo*, Escarramán is the leader of the dancing. This *entremés* has considerable relation to the *Rufián dichoso* and *Rinconete y Cortadillo* through its study of types.[50]

The *Elección de los alcaldes de Daganzo* has also music and dancing, forced in without reason at all. That part is wholly foreign to the plot, and serves to show how popular were both features in the *entremés*. The humorous content is not very great, but to offset this, Cervantes' criticism of government and of society is nowhere more clearly expressed in any of his *entremeses*. That, of course, does not say anything in favor of its dramatic qualities. The interest lies in the insight it gives into the mind of the greatest writer of Spain. The speech of Rana condemning judges who use their high position to affront as well as sentence the hapless criminal is almost bitter in tone. It was clearly a subject that for some reason touched the great writer to the quick. Was it from some personal experience with the law, or only from observation? The satire is often rather mordant. The voter who uses his suffrage and voice indiscriminately for whatever seems to be the popular side comes in for special, though indirect, flagellation. Satire belongs to the *entremés* by right, but it has not served Cervantes

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[49] Bonilla, *op. cit.*, p. 197 n. 71.

[50] Hazañas y la Rua, *Los Rufianes de Cervantes*, p. 17, and pp. 83–85.

to make this one a successful play. Once again, he shows himself an excellent writer but a mediocre dramatist. This *entremés* has been thought to belong to the period of his wanderings. If that is the case, it may at least in part account for the atmosphere and the views expressed.

The *Retablo de las maravillas* offers an interesting case of a play within a play, the first of the kind in the *entremés*. Two somewhat similar cases already noted are only rehearsal scenes. In Cervantes' piece, a play is given before an audience composed of the actors of the *entremés*. Little by little what was once only a disconnected scene is adopting all the devices of the larger forms. In that fact lies the best proof of its development and hardening into a complete *genre*. From an allusion,[51] it is not unlikely that this *entremés* was written shortly after 1603.

As regards the dramatic quality, the *Guarda cuidadosa* is considerably superior to the other *entremeses* of Cervantes thus far discussed. The point of main interest in it is the transformation the personage of the soldier has undergone at the hands of Cervantes. His inherent tendency to fanfarronade and boasting are still present, but in much less degree. For the first time in the *entremés*, he is handled in a somewhat sympathetic way. He is neither very brave nor very cowardly. Rather he is nearer the true type of old soldier, proud of his campaigns which, however much they may honor him, do not serve to protect him from poverty and the scorn that indigence entails. His rival for Cristina's hand wins because he is less lacking in worldly goods. One is tempted to ask whether there may not be in the picture a hint of personal reminiscences from the experiences he himself had undergone. For the development of the *entremés*, it is interesting to see the metamorphosis of a type. Cervantes has made of what was no more than a stock figure in both the Spanish and Italian theaters a living personality. If the soldier was originally borrowed from Italy, as some have thought, at least Cervantes has made him altogether a new and better personage. There is a play by Miguel Sanchez, el Divino, that bears the same name as this *entremés*. It and the *entremés* have little in common.

[51] Cotarelo, *Colección* . . ., p. 31 n. 1.

In the *Vizcaino fingido*, Cervantes deals again with a type already found in the *entremés*, and a favorite with him: that of the Biscayan.[52] The plot is more like that of the primitive form than is usual in these eight *entremeses*. It turns simply upon a trick played by a pretended Biscayan on a woman. In spite of this primitiveness of form, however, the play seems certainly to belong to the year 1611.[53] In the *entremés*, as in any literary form, there are retrogressions as well as advances.

The *Cueva de Salamanca* treats of the old theme of the deceived husband. The wife goes into hysterics at his departure. No sooner is he gone than her lover appears. In the midst of the festivities, the husband returns. He is made to believe that the intruders are devils called up at the behest of a student, in reality the lover, who had been given lodging in his house. The theme comes down from the middle ages, and is only a variant of the old-man young-wife story. It is found in Hans Sachs, as that of the *Retablo* in Eulenspiegel.[54] In the quality of its humor, it is not altogether Spanish, yet Cervantes has made of it one of the best in his collection of little playlets.

The *Juez de los divorcios* is a study of the complaints of wife against husband and husband against wife. It begins with the *vejete y moza* theme, of which the writer gives both sides, an entirely new departure. As a play, it is perhaps not great, but the power of Cervantes as a satirist is manifest. The cases are heard by a judge who placidly leaves them unsettled, and the *procurador* cold bloodedly remarks, "After all, the most remain as they were, and we have enjoyed the fruits of their quarrels and foolishness." Satire of the legal profession in the form dates, it will be recalled, from the time of Horozco.[55]

The *Habladores*, published in the seventh part of the comedies of Lope de Vega, 1617, without the name of Cervantes,[56] is of

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[52] Fernández-Guerra y Orbe in Gallardo, *Ensayo*, I, 1294 n.

[53] Cotarelo, *Colección . . .*, p. 23 n.

[54] Herman Kurtz, *Cervantes' neun Zwischenspiele* in *Spanisches Theater*, II, p. 7.

[55] As an aside, it may be noted that Cervantes in his *Colloquio de los perros* (Fac. ed. of Real Academia española, IV, 271) has one of his dogs speak of being taught to act in *entremeses*. It is quite possible that animal actors did appear in these little plays, though in the early history of the form there is no mention of such a case in any of the *entremeses* extant.

[56] Cotarelo, *Colección . . .*, p. 46 n. 2.

more than doubtful authenticity.[57] Neither in style nor form does it follow him. Rather, in both and in the matter of types as well, it seems to belong to the same hand that wrote some of the *entremeses* found in the earlier parts of Lope's works.

Cervantes' contribution to the *genre* must depend, therefore, upon the eight examples found in the one collection. It has already been said that he added nothing in the matter of dramatic qualities. Material and types, not new but transformed and strengthened and brought into real literary being, he did add. But perhaps the greatest impulse he gave the new form was in the lending to it of the name of a great master of literature. From Rueda, who after all was an *autor* rather than a *littérateur*, no name really great in literary annals had been connected with the *entremés*. Cervantes by the weight of his name alone could give it a literary dignity it had not known before. That he had thought it worthy of him meant that it could no longer be looked upon merely as a form of popular amusement to be supplied by the scribbling of the *autores*, by those "poetas paniaguados" who fringe every literary movement, but carry no weight with the masters of the craft. And so, with the name of Cervantes as the first high-rank literary man of Spain to publish *entremeses*, it could and did take an accredited place among the dramatic forms. Therefore, if the *Ocho entremeses* do not in themselves add greatly to the fame of their author, however much that fact may have troubled him,[58] they have a position of no inconsiderable importance in the history of the development not only of the form, but of the theatre in Spain.

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[57] For an opposite view see résumé of Schepelvitch, *Cervantes e le sue opere* in *La Critica*, II, 497.

[58] Cervantes' inordinate desire to excel in the theatre is well known. The reason he states clearly in the *Viage*, cap. VIII:

> Que ofrece la comedia, si se advierte,
> largo campo al ingenio, *donde pueda*
> *librar su nombre del olvido y muerte.*

VI

Conclusion

In brief, the history of the *entremés* until the time of Cervantes may be summed up as follows:

The first faint traces of the form are found in the separate scene, intercalated in the early plays. Such scenes are found as early as Encina. From that time, they developed rapidly. Before the middle of the sixteenth century, they formed an independent entity.

The word *entremés*, first used for the form about the middle of the century, is found for the first time in Spain in the year 1381. Of French origin, it came in from the Provencal to the Catalan, whence it was adopted into the Castilian. In the fifteenth century, it had a broad variety of meanings, gradually centering, however, on an entertainment of some sort. The comic connotation which was later to be the distinct characteristic as applied to the form, began to be attached to it in connection with the popular diversions for which it was used.

With Rueda and his contemporaries, the *entremés* became a popular form, used as a between-play to please and hold the attention of the audience. Partly from local reasons, partly because of Italian influence, prose became the accepted medium with Rueda and his followers. These early *entremeses* were usually no more than a dramatized moment, a humorous situation or incident adapted to the stage.

As the century moved toward a close, great numbers of *entremeses* began to be used, few of which are extant. They were in nearly all cases probably the work of *autores* who supplied them for the plays of their companies' repertoire.

There is some slight evidence of Italian influence on the *entremeses* of the early seventeenth century, especially in the matter of plot, and in the erotic element. The indigenous

Spanish qualities, however, so far outweigh this element that it forms only an incident rather than a determining factor.

In the seventeenth century before Cervantes, the form amplifies and sets in the mould that was to characterize its further development. Variations like the *entremés cantado* appear in germ before the opening years of the century.

In 1615, with the publication of the collection of *entremeses* bearing the name of Cervantes, the form assumes a real literary importance, breaking the last ties that held it as a purely popular form.

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